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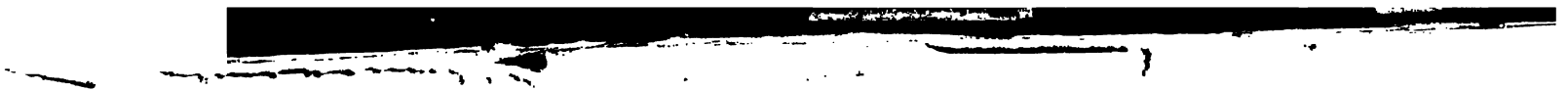
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The Scottish Text Society

VERNACULAR WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE BUCHANAN

VERNACULAR WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE BUCHANAN

EDITED BY

P. HUME BROWN

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN'

Printed for the Society by

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

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PREFACE.

THIS slender collection contains all that appears to be preserved of the writings of George Buchanan in the Scottish vernacular. With the possible exception of a few letters, there is indeed no reason to believe that he left any other composition in that language. As it happens, however, the three pieces, here brought together for the first time, have a peculiar value, both as literature and history. The first of these, the "Opinion anent the Reformation of the Universitie of St Andros," is a document of high importance in the history of the reform of secondary and university education, necessitated by the Revival of learning and the decay of mediævalism. In the notes to this document, it has been my object at once to mark Buchanan's debt to the educationists of the Continent, and to show the relative value of his "Opinion" in the development of public instruction. The other two pieces, the "Admonitioun" and the "Chamæleon," have also a histori-

cal value of their own; but their chief interest lies in the fact that they are the finest specimens we possess of vernacular Scottish prose. In no other writer, who has used the Scottish tongue as his instrument, have we the same combination of natural gifts with the disciplined skill of the literary artist, which we find in Buchanan.

I here take the opportunity of thanking Mr David Patrick and Mr Archibald Constable for their kindness in revising my proofs, and for other assistance rendered in the course of my work.

P. H. B.

EDINBURGH, 1891.

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INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born on the lands of Moss or Mid-Leowen, near the village of Killearn, Stirlingshire, about the beginning of February 1506.[1] His father was Thomas Buchanan, son and apparent heir of Robert Buchanan, of the family of the Buchanans of Drumikill.[2] On his father's side Buchanan was connected with the family of Lennox —a fact not to be forgotten in view of his subsequent relations with Darnley and the Regent Lennox. His mother was Agnes Heriot, of the Heriots of Trabroun, East Lothian—the same family with which George Heriot, the founder of George Heriot's Hospital, claimed kin.[3] A Celt by his father's and a Teuton by his mother's side, Buchanan was thus of mixed descent, though his writings show that his sympathies were all with the race of his

[1] 'Vita sua.' This account of his life, in all probability written by himself, is given in Ruddiman's edition of his works (Edin., 1715). The references to Buchanan's works in this Introduction are to Ruddiman's edition.

[2] Deed now in the possession of H. D. Erskine, Esq. of Cardross.

[3] Steven, 'History of George Heriot's Hospital' (Edin., 1859).

father, and that he deemed the Celts to be the true Scottish nation. Gaelic was likewise his mother tongue, and must have been his daily speech till his fourteenth year. In his 'History of Scotland,' written in the last years of his life, the introductory chapters show at once his keen interest in all questions relating to the Scottish Celts, and his familiarity with their language, manners, and customs.

The family had always been poor, and the death of Thomas Buchanan at a comparatively early age laid a heavy burden on Agnes Heriot, left with five sons and three daughters, all young, and all of whom reached maturity.[1] In the Latin sketch of his life the most distinguished of her sons bears testimony to the careful diligence with which she discharged her double responsibility. In 1513 a lease of certain lands near Cardross, Menteith, was granted to Agnes Heriot and her sons, Thomas, Patrick, Alexander and George.[2] Thither, therefore, when George was in his seventh year, the family removed, and as the lease was renewed in 1531, there Agnes Heriot seems to have settled for the rest of her life.

It is uncertain where George received the elements of his education. All that he himself tells us is that he was educated in "the schools of his native county."[3] At all events, by his fourteenth year he had given such proofs of his aptitude for study that his mother's uncle, James Heriot, determined to send him to the University of Paris.[4] Almost at the time when Buchanan began his studies in Paris, Knox proceeded to Glasgow to sit at the feet of John Major. Born within a few months of each other, the two greatest Scotsmen of the sixteenth century, by this very divergence of their paths at the outset of life,

[1] Vita sua. [2] Deed now in Cardross Castle. [3] Vita sua. [4] Ibid.

were marked for careers which, in many respects, were to be as wide as the poles asunder.

PARIS—1520-22.

On the occasion of this his first visit, Buchanan remained two years in Paris; and his second sojourn, some four years later, lasted ten.[1] In the development of religious reform and of the revival of letters, this period was for France the decisive stage in her history. Mainly through the action of the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris, the opinions of Luther were during this period definitively rejected in France as a national religion. As those most eager for reform in religion were likewise those most eager for reform in the methods and subjects of study, the new learning fared almost as badly in Paris as the new religion. It was in this conflict between the champions of the old and the new world that Buchanan during these years in Paris acquired that bent of mind which led him, in the first place, to choose Latin as his vehicle of expression, and, in the second, marks him as emphatically a product of the Renaissance rather than the Reformation.

During the two years he now spent in Paris, Buchanan probably lived in private lodgings, and attended the public classes of the German Nation, of which as a Scotsman he was a member. As these two years in Paris were afterwards set to his account at the University of St Andrews, he must at once have entered on the course of study required for the certificate of Bachelorship in Arts. He has himself specified in a single sentence the nature of his first studies. "Partly of his own choice," he says, "and

[1] Vita sua.

partly of compulsion, the writing of Latin verse, then the one subject prescribed for boys, made the chief part of his literary studies."[1] The making of Latin verses had been a common exercise throughout the middle ages, and is satirised by Erasmus (who had himself been a victim of the practice) as the veriest waste of time and brains.[2] Buchanan, however, took more kindly to the exercise; and in all probability his teachers had themselves learned something of the higher ideals in classical study which had been proclaimed by the scholars of Italy during the previous century. At the end of two years the failure of supplies through the death of his uncle, as well as the precarious state of his own health, forced him to return to Scotland.[3]

MILITARY EXPEDITION—STUDIES AT ST ANDREWS, 1522-26.

On his return Buchanan had to devote almost a year to the recovery of his health, probably living with his mother on the farm at Cardross. By the autumn of 1523 his health was so far mended that he joined an expedition organised by the Regent Albany against the English border. Of this expedition Buchanan has left an interesting account in his 'History of Scotland.' Beaten off from the siege of Wark Castle, the Scottish force retired amid a snowstorm, "which told heavily on man and beast." The sole reason Buchanan gives for joining the expedition is that he was desirous of knowing something of military affairs. If he had any serious intention of choosing a soldier's in preference to a student's life, his

[1] Vita sua. [2] Erasmus, 'Opera,' i. 514 f. (edit. Le Clerc). [3] Vita sua.

experience on this occasion must have convinced him of his error. As the result of his hardships as a volunteer, he was bedridden for the whole of the ensuing winter.

Apparently convinced that his true vocation was that of the scholar, along with his brother Patrick he entered the University of St Andrews in the spring of 1525. He was sent there, he tells us, specially to profit by the teaching of John Major, who had left Glasgow in 1523. Major was the most distinguished literary Scotsman of his generation; but he belonged essentially to an exhausted movement, and for youths like Buchanan and Patrick Hamilton he was an obscurantist of the most hateful type, the slave of effete scholasticism, and the dogged foe of all the new lights in learning and religion. In his old age Buchanan calls to mind the prelections of Major in the sarcastic sentence, "that he taught dialectics, or, to speak more truly, the art of sophistry." For Buchanan and men of his type, Major and the Sorbonne, of which he was the most distinguished champion, were adversaries with whom they well knew no truce was possible. If Major and the Sorbonne had had their way, Renaissance and Reformation alike would have been strangled in their birth. It is only by keeping this before us that we appreciate the full significance of Buchanan's well-known epigram against his old master. We should misunderstand the import of the life-and-death struggle between the old and the new order, were we to read the lines as the expression of mere personal feeling. As Luther spoke of Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More of Luther, so Buchanan spoke of Major as the immitigable antagonist of all that he deemed of the highest value to humanity. It was at the Pædagogium, which had been the nucleus of the University of St Andrews, that Major

was now regenting, and there Buchanan now enrolled—paying sixpence as his matriculation fee.[1] He does not appear to have distinguished himself in his new studies, as at his graduation in the following October his name appears only in the second class.

PARIS—THE SCOTS COLLEGE AND STE. BARBE, 1526-35.

Though now Bachelor of Arts, Buchanan, by the laws of all the mediæval universities, had still to take the degree of Master before he could be a fully qualified academic teacher. To complete his studies, therefore, he once more returned to Paris, where, after two years' residence in the Scots College, he graduated Master of Arts in 1528. By his own account these two years were a prolonged struggle with misery. From all we know, indeed, of the colleges of Paris, the internal arrangements of even the most richly endowed must have been such as to wreck the constitution of all but the most robust, and to drive lads of sensitive mind to desperation. As one of the minor colleges of the university, that of the Scots would be among the least generously provided in the matter of food and domestic comforts. For Buchanan, therefore, with his susceptible temperament and naturally delicate constitution, his life in the Scots College must have been in the highest degree uncongenial. But his words imply more than the mere hardship of ungenial surroundings—they suggest actual want of the bare necessities of life.

Being now Master of Arts, Buchanan was fully qualified

[1] Others paid eightpence, and in certain cases no fee was paid. The last class of students were known as *pauperes*.

to act as regent in the university. Accordingly, in the following year, we find him on the teaching-staff of one of the most flourishing colleges in Paris—that of Ste. Barbe. Ste. Barbe had been founded in 1460, and since the date of its foundation had been distinguished by the liberal character of its teaching. By the beginning of the sixteenth century it stood second only to Montaigu College as a school of Arts, and it far surpassed that college in its generous reception of all the new lights of the time.[1] During the period of Buchanan's residence, its large body of teachers represented every shade of opinion in science, religion, and philosophy, though its principal, Jacques de Gouvéa, was himself the devoutest of Catholics. It is to be remembered that Ste. Barbe was almost a solitary instance of such liberalism in Paris. To the end of the sixteenth century the University of Paris remained the stronghold of mediævalism, and it was not till 1600 that it formally gave Greek a place in its curriculum of study.[2]

According to the historian of Ste. Barbe, Buchanan deserves a high place in its record by his systematic attempt to raise the character of its teaching. There were in all fourteen classes in the college in which students were prepared for the degree in Arts. Latin, however, was the main subject taught, and it was one of the Latin classes of which he had charge. As the ardent advocate of all the new studies, Buchanan (possibly with one or two others like-minded with himself) took a step which was regarded as little less than revolutionary by the great majority of the Paris professors. He discarded Alexandre de Villedieu, the time-honoured grammarian of the

[1] Quicherat, 'Histoire de Sainte Barbe,' vol. i. p. 152.
[2] Crevier, 'Histoire de l'Université de Paris,' vol. vii. pp. 64, 65.

middle ages, and used as the basis of his teaching the grammar of the English humanist Thomas Linacre. Shortly after leaving Ste. Barbe, Buchanan published a Latin translation of Linacre, and accompanied it with a dedication to his pupil, the young Earl of Cassilis, which brings clearly before us the dogged opposition of Paris to all attempts at university reform.

Of his stay in Ste. Barbe Buchanan has left us a memorial in a poem which has at once a biographical and a historical interest. The poem is entitled "Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiæ,"[1] and is the record of the day's duties of a college regent. It is a pitiable picture of the life of pupil and teacher alike; yet from the testimony of other scholars we know that it is but a simple transcript of fact. During his stay in Ste. Barbe Buchanan was assured of the means of subsistence; but the necessary inference from this poem is that his whole manner of life in that college was the last in the world he would have chosen, had another career been open to him.

That he was a person of some note in the university is proved by the fact that in June 1529 he was elected procurator of the German Nation.[2] The office could be held for only one month, and it may be regarded as a tribute to Buchanan that he was elected four times in succession. The duties of the procurator consisted in looking after the money affairs of the Nation, in presiding at all its meetings, and in reporting its decisions to the general council of the university. The official record kept by Buchanan still exists in the university archives, and is interesting as

[1] Buchanan, Eleg. I.

[2] Archives of the University of Paris, register 16, fol. 169 and 170.

being written in the traditional dog-Latin so far removed from the purity of Buchanan's own Latin style. In 1530 a further honour was conferred on him. At the suggestion of his countryman, Robert Wauchope, "that able man, so learned in Latin and Greek, Master George Buchanan," was unanimously chosen by the German Nation as one of the electors of the rector of the university. Buchanan was thus in direct course for the rectorship itself; but his known opinions on all the burning questions of the day doubtless closed this office against him. During this period of his life, as at all others, Buchanan was in the habit of writing short epigrams on men and things, which made him a marked person wherever he found himself. In Paris the Sorbonne and its doctors were the special butt of his sarcasms, and the Sorbonne was supreme in the councils of the university.

SCOTLAND—QUARREL WITH THE FRANCISCANS, 1535-39.

In the closing lines of the poem above mentioned, Buchanan bids farewell to Ste. Barbe, and it was probably in 1531 that he entered on a new engagement—that of private tutor to the Earl of Cassilis, a boy of fifteen or sixteen. With Cassilis he returned to Scotland in 1535, and while living with his pupil in the country, wrote a poem which may be said to have determined his whole future career. This was the "Somnium," an imitation, or rather translation, of a poem by William Dunbar, in which he keenly satirises the Order of Franciscans in Scotland. The Franciscans seem to have felt that in Buchanan they had a person to be stringently dealt with, and thenceforward they pursued him

with their deadliest hate. On the expiry of his engagement with Cassilis, Buchanan had thoughts of once more returning to the Continent, but was appointed by the king tutor to his natural son, Lord James Stewart (not to be confounded with the Lord James Stewart better known as the Regent Moray). This engagement is memorable in Buchanan's life, as having brought him into direct relation with the Court, and as being the occasion of the most brilliant of all his satires, the "Franciscanus." The king, it appears, had special reasons for displeasure with the Franciscans, and at his order the satire was written.[1] Buchanan was unwilling to give further offence to so powerful a body, and with the object of conciliating both parties, wrote a "Palinodia." This so-called Palinode was in truth more offensive than the "Somnium" itself. We cannot be surprised, therefore, that the Franciscans were more wroth than ever. On the other hand, it was not pointed enough to please the king, who demanded a satire "which should not merely prick the skin but probe the vitals." Accordingly Buchanan began his "Franciscanus," the most elaborate of all his poems, and one of the most merciless satires against the clergy which even that age produced in Scotland. Part of the poem seems to have been submitted to the king, and a report of it reached the ears of the Franciscans. It was not, however, till Buchanan's final return to Scotland, about 1560, that he completed the poem, and published it with a dedication to James's other natural son, the Regent Moray.

At this period the spread of the new opinions in religion began to excite real alarm in the Church. The year 1539 especially was one of vigorous action against heretics. "In

[1] Vita sua.

the beginning of that year," Buchanan tells us, "many suspected of Lutheranism were seized; towards the end of February five were burned, nine recanted, many were exiled. Among the last was George Buchanan, who, while his guards were asleep, escaped from the window of his sleeping apartment."[1] Hearing that Cardinal Beaton had offered a bribe to the king to put him into his hands, Buchanan escaped to England, not, however, without sundry serious adventures by the way.[2] In England he found Henry VIII. burning Catholic and Protestant alike, on the same day and in the same fire, and more intent on safeguarding his prerogative than advancing pure religion.[3] Two poems written at this period, addressed respectively to Henry and his great minister, Thomas Cromwell, prove that his fortunes were now at the lowest ebb.[4] As from Henry's indiscriminate dealings Buchanan was in as great danger in England as in his own country, he once more sought a home in France, first directing his steps to Paris. Here, as it happened, his arch-enemy Beaton was at this very moment engaged on an embassy, and Buchanan was again forced to find a resting-place elsewhere.

REGENT IN BORDEAUX, 1539-42.

Fortunately, an appointment was now offered him which, for the next three years, provided him with a home of comparative security. The offer came to him from André de Gouvéa, nephew of Jacques de Gouvéa, Principal of Buchanan's old college of Ste. Barbe. A great school had

[1] Rer. Scot. Hist., lib. xiv. p. 277 (Ruddiman's edit., Edin., 1715).
[2] Letter of Sir Thomas Randolph to Peter Young (Ruddiman's Buchanan).
[3] Vita sua. [4] Miscell., xiii.; ibid., xv.

lately been founded in Bordeaux, to which the most distinguished teachers were drawn, as an institution aiming at all the new ideals that had come of the revival of letters. André de Gouvéa was now at the head of this school, known as the Collége de Guyenne; and to Buchanan, with whom he had doubtless been acquainted in Paris, he offered one of two vacancies which had just occurred in his staff. Buchanan at once closed with the offer, and for the next three years he resided in Gouvéa's college as one of the regents engaged in the teaching of Latin. By the arrangements of the school each regent had charge of a certain number of boarders, whose studies he superintended, and from whom he received fees in addition to his stated salary.[1] Among Buchanan's boarders was Montaigne, who in after-years recalls with pride that he had Buchanan as one of his masters. Montaigne is now a European classic, but it is to be remembered that since Montaigne's day pupil and master have changed places. For the younger Scaliger Montaigne was *un ignorant hardi*, while Buchanan was named with respect by every scholar of Europe. It was natural, therefore, that in his garrulous references to himself Montaigne should not forget to mention that he had among his masters one who, according to the almost unanimous opinion of the scholars of the sixteenth century, was "easily the first poet of his age."[2] In one of the best known of his *Essais*, that on the education of children, Montaigne has given an interesting sketch of his stay at the Collége de Guyenne, and specially mentions Buchanan, *ce grand poëte Escossois*, as one of his *précepteurs domestiques*. At a later

[1] Gaullieur, 'Histoire du Collége de Guyenne' (Paris, 1874).

[2] The phrase appears in the title-page of the two editions of Buchanan's paraphrase of the Psalms published by Henri and Robert Estienne.

date he also tells us that he met his old master in the train of the Maréchal de Brissac, to whose son Buchanan was then acting as tutor. In at least two other passages he makes reference to him,—once in quoting "Franciscanus," and again in contrasting Buchanan's History of Scotland with that of Bishop Lesley.[1] During his stay in Bordeaux Buchanan was also on friendly terms with one of the most famous scholars of the time, Julius Cæsar Scaliger. Scaliger was then residing at Agen, some sixty or seventy miles from Bordeaux, and in times of vacation was often visited by regents from the college. None of them, it would appear, was more welcome than Buchanan, as a poem of Scaliger himself records.—The younger Scaliger, it may be said, inherited his father's admiration of Buchanan, and paid him the magnificent compliment—"Buchananus unus est in tota Europa omnes post se relinquens in Latina poesi."[2]

Buchanan was but one of a large number of regents in the school at Bordeaux, but his literary gift made him a marked man among his fellows. When the college had occasion to give collective expression to its opinions in Latin verse, it was to Buchanan that the task was committed. Thus in 1539, on the occasion of the Emperor Charles V. passing through the city, Buchanan wrote the congratulatory poem.[3] Again, when supplication was made to the chancellor of the kingdom for financial aid to the college, Buchanan, in a graceful and dignified ode, gave expression to the prayer of his colleagues.[4] In Bordeaux, as elsewhere, Buchanan wrote other pieces, which, as they were self-sprung, bear the stamp of his own peculiar character and genius.

[1] Essais, liv. iii. chap. x.; liv. iii. chap. vii.
[2] Prima Scaligerana, p. 37. [3] Silvæ, I. [4] Miscell., iv.

It was one of the duties expected of the regents that each should once a-year write a Latin play, to be represented by the boys. The object of this custom, Buchanan tells us, was to wean the pupils from the mediæval mysteries in which the French above all nations took especial delight. It is to be remembered that these mysteries had now become such an offence to public morals that the Parliament of Paris finally suppressed them in 1547. In the discharge of his task, Buchanan wrote four plays—two being simply translations of the "Medea" and the "Alcestis" of Euripides. In making these translations, he had the intention of benefiting himself as well as his students. In the case of the "Medea," at least, he says that he wrote it, not with a view to publication, but that in setting himself to learn Greek without a teacher, he might in the process of translation weigh more carefully the meaning of every word.

The other two plays—"Jephthes" and "Baptistes"—are original compositions, and were reckoned by Buchanan's contemporaries among the most successful efforts of their kind. The former, which deals with the story of Jephthah and his daughter, is in point of dramatic effect much the more striking performance, but the latter has the far greater value for Buchanan's biographer. The direct application to Buchanan's own personal fortunes, as well as to the burning questions of the day, cannot be mistaken. John the Baptist, who aims at the overthrow of effete Jewish tradition, is the manifest prototype of men like Buchanan himself, who were directing their keenest weapons against the abuses of the Roman Church; Malchus, the high priest, is Buchanan's own persecutor, Cardinal Beaton; the good-natured but frivolous Herod might stand

either for James V. of Scotland or Francis I. of France. The interest of the drama is further enhanced by the fact that John is made the spokesman of those very opinions in politics which Buchanan long afterwards expounded in his famous tract, 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos.' In 1576, when he was acting as tutor to James VI., he dedicated the "Baptistes" to his pupil in a letter which perfectly reveals his real motives in writing the drama. It is worth adding that in the critical year 1642, a translation of the "Baptistes" was published in England, under the title "Tyrannical Government Anatomized; being the Life and Death of John the Baptist." In this case Herod was meant to stand for Charles I., Malchus for Archbishop Laud, and Herodias for Henrietta Maria.[1]

PARIS—COIMBRA, 1542-52.

At the end of 1542 or the beginning of 1543 Buchanan left Bordeaux. Even there he had not been safe from the persecution of Beaton, who had actually written to the Archbishop of Bordeaux to have him dealt with as a heretic. Fortunately the letter had fallen into the hands of certain of Buchanan's friends, and the death of James V. gave the Cardinal other matters to think of. A plague that broke out in Aquitaine about the same time also stayed the persecution for heresy, which, especially in Bordeaux itself, had lately become alarming for men of Buchanan's ways of thinking.[2] He felt, however, that he was no longer safe in that city. From a misunderstand-

[1] It is worth noting that Buchanan's "Jephthes" was played by the scholars at Ribe on June 4, 1571; and was also represented in Danish, November 19, 1575, and June 25, 1576. I am indebted for this interesting note to the Rev. Dr Gregor.

[2] Gaullieur, p. 153.

ing of the phrase *précepteurs domestiques*, it has been conjectured that he now became tutor to Montaigne at his country house. The true meaning of the expression, however, shows that the conjecture is wholly without foundation.

For the next five years we all but lose sight of him. In 1544 he was acting as regent in the College of Cardinal Jean Lemoine, in Paris,[1] and in the same year he casually mentions in his history that he was in Toulouse.[2] Besides these two facts, nothing more is known of his external life during the whole of this period. As it happens, however, he wrote a short poem while in Paris which is of more value as a revelation of himself than any other production he has left us.[3] In general, Buchanan indulges in few personal references. Even in the poem which recounts his woes as a regent in Ste. Barbe, he speaks of himself rather as a type than an individual. In the poem to which we refer, he registers at once his physical and his moral habit. He had been at death's door from a complication of ailments—gout, stone, dropsy, asthma, and racking cough—and is still in doubt if he will eventually recover. The first half of the poem is a vivid record of his sufferings, and proves that Buchanan must naturally have been of feeble constitution, and more or less of an invalid all his life. In the second, the touching reference to the sympathetic care of his various friends in Paris shows us a side of Buchanan which his epigrams and controversial writings are apt to make us forget.

As we gather from a poem written afterwards in Portugal,[4] Buchanan must have left Paris not later than 1545.

[1] Moreri, 'Anti-Baillet,' tom. i. p. 328. [2] Hist. Rer. Scot., p. 11.

[3] Eleg. IV., "Ad Ptolemæum Luxium Tastæum et Jacobum Tevium, cum articulari morbo laboraret."

[4] Silvæ III., "Desiderium Lutetiæ."

How or where he spent the next three years has not been ascertained. When next we hear of him, it is again in connection with the great Principal, André de Gouvéa, who, in response to an invitation or rather command of John III. in 1547, set out for Portugal to assume the superintendence of a new college in connection with the lately founded University of Coimbra.[1] At this period, Buchanan himself tells us, France was fast becoming an impossible place for men of peaceful inclinations. The proposal of Gouvéa, therefore, that he should accompany him to Coimbra, was gladly accepted, and the more so that his brother Patrick and several of his former colleagues at Bordeaux were among the band of scholars whom Gouvéa had chosen as his staff for the new university. At first everything went well. Before a year was out, however, Gouvéa died, and the university falling under the dominion of the Jesuits, the colony of scholars, as sympathisers with heresy alike in religious and secular studies, were subjected to the most annoying persecution. As the author of "Franciscanus," Buchanan was the object of their most stringent dealings. Before accepting Gouvéa's offer, Buchanan had expressly stipulated with the king that this satire should not be made ground of offence against him. But he was friendless, and his enemies were all-powerful. He was accused of having eaten flesh in Lent, of having made injurious reflections on the character of the monks, and of having in private conversation asserted that the authority of St Augustine was on the side of heretics. After a year and a half's petty annoyance, Buchanan was shut up in a monastery, in order that he might be better instructed in the faith of the Church.[2]

[1] Vita sua. [2] Ibid.

It was during his confinement in the monastery that Buchanan mainly wrote the work that, more than any other, gained him his European reputation—his metrical paraphrase of the Psalms. This was an exercise in which the humanists of Buchanan's day eagerly vied with each other, as at once a display of their scholarship and an earnest of their orthodoxy. Of these innumerable paraphrases, none attained so universal acceptance as that of Buchanan. With his contemporaries it gained him the title of "the first poet of his age"; it perpetuated his name on the Continent for two centuries after his death; and its use in the schools of his native country "gave a vitality to the teaching of Latin in Scotland it could not easily achieve elsewhere." [1]

To the period of his stay in Portugal also belongs a series of poems of a very different type—his erotic verses addressed to Leonora. The writing of such verse was the almost universal practice of the humanists of the sixteenth century, and is to be regarded simply as another proof of their slavish worship of antiquity. In Buchanan's case, as, indeed, in the case of most of these modern Latin versifiers, the licence of expression fairly rivals that of their classical prototypes; but it would be to misunderstand the spirit of the sixteenth century to infer from the licence of Buchanan's verse that his life was its practical commentary. In a poem written in later life he seems to tell us in so many words that his Leonoras and Neæras were mere names on which he exercised his fancy.[2]

[1] Hill Burton, 'Scot Abroad,' vol. ii. p. 147.

[2] "Nec Phyllidis me nunc juvat flavam comam
Præferre Bacchi crinibus,
Nec in Neæræ perfidam superbiam
Sævos iambos stringere."—Iamb. I.

FRANCE—ENGAGEMENT WITH THE MARÉCHAL DE BRISSAC, 1552-61.

Buchanan left Portugal in 1552, and after a brief sojourn in England, once more took up his abode in France. For two years he remained in Paris, probably acting as regent in the Collége Boncourt.[1] During the following five years, the last that he spent on the Continent, he acted as tutor to Timoleon du Cossé, son of Charles du Cossé, marshal of France, and one of the most distinguished soldiers of the age. In this capacity he resided partly in France and partly in Italy, attending Du Cossé in his various campaigns. The poem entitled "De Sphæra" is the memorial of this engagement. As we now have it, the poem consists of five books, the last two being unfinished. Buchanan doubtless meant the "De Sphæra" to be the great poetical achievement of his life. The poem is in large measure merely a paraphrase of a treatise by Joannes de Sacrobosco on the Sphere, which had been a text-book in all the schools since the thirteenth century. Buchanan's "De Sphæra," however, is not merely a poetical exposition of the mediæval cosmogony,—it is an indignant protest against what he deemed the pseudo-science of the time. The epoch-making book of Copernicus had been published in 1543; but Buchanan, along with all the scholars of his time, regarded the new system as unworthy of serious consideration, and without naming him he contemptuously dismisses Copernicus as a charlatan. As the Copernican theory was not generally accepted by educated men for more than a century after Buchanan wrote his poem, he

[1] Epist. I.

cannot be fairly charged with undue perversity or obscurantism.

Another poem also belongs to this period, which deserves mention as containing one of the best known passages in all his writings—his "Epithalamion" on the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots with the Dauphin of France in 1558. The passage is that in which he celebrates, with considerable stretch of poetical fancy, the natural advantages of Scotland and the achievements of its people. In addition to its real merit as poetry, the lines are interesting as clearly showing that for Buchanan the Celts were the true Scottish nation.

SCOTLAND—RELATIONS WITH THE COURT.

The exact date when Buchanan finally returned to Scotland is uncertain. In January 1562, as we learn from a letter of Sir Thomas Randolph, Buchanan was in attendance on Mary, and daily reading Livy with her.[1] In the Register of the Privy Council for 1563 there is an entry to the effect that Buchanan, along with another, had been appointed "to interpreit the writtis producit in proces writtin in Spainis langage furth of the same in Franche, Latyne, or Inglis, that the Quenis grace and Counsale mycht thaireftir understand the samyn." For his general services Buchanan received a pension of 250 pounds Scots, which in 1564 was commuted into an annual grant of 500 pounds Scots from the lands of the Abbey of Crossraguel, together with the whole temporality of the Abbey as well as the monastic buildings. As there were no fewer than four persons in-

[1] This reading of the classics was one of the affectations of ladies of rank in Mary's day.

terested in the abbacy, however, Buchanan profited little by the grant, and to the end of his life he was never far from actual want. Begging letters in the form of playful epigrams, addressed to Mary as well as to the Regents Moray and Lennox, prove that, in spite of the honourable position he held in the country, his income must have been either precarious or insufficient.[1]

PRINCIPAL OF ST LEONARD'S—SERVICES TO EDUCATION.

In 1566, through the patronage of the Earl of Moray, Buchanan was appointed Principal of St Leonard's College. Of the details of his life in St Andrews, or of the manner in which he discharged his duties, nothing has come down to us. It is clear, however, that he was held in honour by the university, and that his great name as a scholar drew an increasing number of students to the college over which he presided. For three successive years after his appointment he was one of the electors, assessors, and deputies of the rector; and in each case his name is entered with the addition "Poetarum nostræ memoriæ facile princeps." He was never either rector or dean of the faculty. "It is remarkable," says Principal Lee, "that no students are enrolled as belonging to St Leonard's College in 1566 and

[1] "Ad Mariam Scotiæ Reginam.

Do quod adest: opto quod abest tibi: dona darentur
Aurea, sors animo si foret æqua meo.
Hoc leve si credis, paribus me ulciscere donis:
Et quod abest, opta tu mihi: da quod adest."

"Ad Jacobum Moraviæ Comitem.

Si magis est, ut Christus ait, donare beatum,
Quam de munifica dona referre manu:
Aspice quam foveam tibi: sis ut dando beatus,
Non renuo fieri, te tribuente, miser."

1567, though the numbers both at St Mary's and St Salvator's are considerable. In 1568 more students entered St Leonard's than even St Mary's, which had generally been the most numerously attended of all the colleges; and in 1569 the numbers enrolled for the first time in St Leonard's were twenty-four, while those of St Mary's were only eleven, and those at St Salvator's only eight." It seems natural to infer that Buchanan's European reputation must explain this prosperity of St Leonard's at the expense of its rivals.

There is abundant evidence to prove that Buchanan was keenly interested in the cause of education in Scotland. At the Reformation, various abortive schemes were framed for the reconstitution of the University of St Andrews, and among them is one from the hand of Buchanan himself. The plan of study he sets forth was inadequate even for that day in Scotland; but so many schemes for the improvement of the university had already miscarried, that only some such modest plan as that of Buchanan had any chance of being realised. As it happened, even this scheme had no better fortune than those of his predecessors.[1]— Buchanan was most closely associated with the University of St Andrews, but more than once he was also the prompter of substantial boons in favour of the University of Glasgow. A valuable gift of Latin and Greek books gave further proof of his interest in the welfare of Glasgow College. But the best endeavours of Buchanan in the cause of public instruction could bear little fruit at a time when the country was torn with civil and religious dissensions, and its very existence as a nation was at stake. His real service to education in Scotland, therefore, is to

[1] See p. 3, below.

be traced to the indirect influence of his fame as a scholar. For fully two centuries after his death, his name and example were the inspiration of such of his countrymen as made the career of a scholar the ambition of their life.

RELATIONS WITH MARY—ACCOMPANIES THE REGENT MORAY TO ENGLAND.

We have seen that, on his return to Scotland, Buchanan acted as classical tutor to Mary, and that he received a grant for his general services to herself and the Government. While he was thus in daily attendance on Mary, he made no concealment of the fact that he was opposed to her on all fundamental questions of policy and religion. On his arrival in Scotland he had joined the Reformed Church as established by the Protestant party; and from 1563 he sat for four successive years as a member of the General Assembly, and in 1567 as Moderator. As the General Assembly and all its deliberations were the special aversion of Mary, Buchanan did not consult her favour by becoming one of its members. Nevertheless, for the first few years after his return from the Continent, he performed all those services about the Court which princes in that age required of their scholars. He wrote Latin masques on the occasion of Court festivities, and he addressed poems to Mary in a tone in perfect keeping with the conventions of the age.

In December 1566, Buchanan, as poet-laureate of the Court, wrote the masque played on the occasion of the baptism of James VI.; but by the events that immediately followed—the murder of Darnley and Mary's marriage with Bothwell—he was completely alienated from the

queen, and eventually proved one of the most formidable of her adversaries. With many of Mary's own friends, and the entire party to which he himself belonged, Buchanan was convinced of the queen's guilty share in her husband's murder. By all his principles in politics and religion, also, he was convinced that it was for the best welfare of the country that Mary should not again sit upon the throne. When he was invited by the Regent Moray, therefore, to act as one of his assistants in placing the indictment against Mary before Elizabeth, he could not refuse his services to his country. Accordingly, in 1568 he accompanied Moray and his fellow-commissioners first to York, and afterwards to London. His share in the proceedings against Mary was the statement in Latin of the various charges against her supplied to him by the insurgent leaders. This statement, as written in classical Latin, and by a scholar of Buchanan's reputation, made the whole tragic story known to educated Europe. Its full title, though probably not supplied by Buchanan himself, explains the nature and scope of the indictment, "De Maria Scotorum Regina, totaque ejus contra Regem conjuratione, fœdo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate et rabie, horrendo insuper et deterrimo ejusdem parricidio, plena et tragica plane Historia."[1]— During his stay in London, Buchanan enjoyed the best society the city could then offer. As several of his poems show, he was on intimate terms with Elizabeth's great minister, Cecil. He also held pleasant intercourse with Elizabeth's classical tutor, Roger Ascham, exchanging presents and complimentary verses with him.

[1] On the Scots translation of the 'Detectio,' which has been loosely ascribed to Buchanan, see note, p. 59.

RETURNS TO SCOTLAND—WRITES VARIOUS TRACTS.

In the beginning of 1569 he returned to Scotland, and for a short time resumed his duties as Principal of St Leonard's.[1] It must have been shortly after his return to Scotland that he produced his only two other pieces written in the vernacular—'The Admonitioun to the trew Lordis' (pp. 18-36) and the 'Chamæleon' (pp. 37-53). To the same period, probably, belongs his famous dialogue, 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos,' an exposition of his political creed, and of what he understood to be the constitutional relations of prince and people in Scotland. The leading motive of the tract is identical with that of Milton in his 'Defence of the People of England'—the justification of his countrymen in the eyes of Europe; and the sum of its political teaching is simply that the prince exists by the will and for the good of the people.

TUTOR TO KING JAMES—PUBLIC LIFE, 1570-82.

During his last years, a charge was committed to Buchanan which has given him a place in the traditions of his country which he could not have gained by all his mastery of classical Latin. In 1570 the Privy Council appointed him tutor to the king, then only four years of age. As his dedications to "Baptistes," the 'De Jure Regni,' and his 'History of Scotland' show, Buchanan had a full sense of the responsibility of his charge. He was now in his 64th year, and his infirmities made him even older than his years, so that he was not in all respects specially fitted for the task imposed upon him.

[1] Sibbald, 'Commentarius in Vitam Georgii Buchanani,' p. 66.

From James's fourth to his twelfth year, however, Buchanan not only exercised a general superintendence over his education, but in certain branches himself gave his pupil instruction. How James profited by this instruction is proved by the fact that he became "the only English prince who has carried to the throne knowledge derived from reading or any considerable amount of literature."[1] On the other hand, his entire line of action, when he afterwards came to the throne, was in direct antagonism to all his master's principles, alike in politics and religion.

Besides his post as tutor to James, Buchanan held other appointments that made him a person of considerable importance in the country. During the brief regency of Lennox he was made director of Chancery, and afterwards Keeper of the Privy Seal, an office which he held till 1578. As Keeper of the Privy Seal he was entitled to a seat in Parliament, a privilege of which he seems to have availed himself. To the Earl of Morton Buchanan was not so favourably disposed as to the three previous regents, Moray, Lennox, and Mar. With the religious party to which he belonged, he disapproved of Morton's attitude towards the Church. But his chief ground of opposition was the regent's persistent attempt to gain possession of the king. It was, indeed, mainly by the advice of Buchanan and Alexander Erskine, governor of Stirling Castle, that James was induced to support the party opposed to Morton, which brought about his temporary abdication in March 1578.[2] A council of twelve was then formed for the direction of the king, Buchanan being one of its extraordinary members. The council

[1] Mark Pattison, 'Isaac Casaubon,' p. 296.
[2] Sir James Melville, 'Memoirs.'

was of short duration, as by April of the same year Morton was again in power. During Morton's second regency Buchanan still continued in the Privy Council, though in 1578 he had resigned the Seal to his nephew, Thomas Buchanan. Of the Councils which met during Morton's second regency, Buchanan occasionally attended the first; but at the second he seems never to have been present. In the first Council, Buchanan, assisted by Peter Young, his subordinate in charge of the king, acted as interim secretary during the absence of the Commendator of Dunfermline on an embassy to England.

In virtue of his office as tutor to the king, and his position as one of the public servants of the country, Buchanan was of sufficient consequence to be the object of special solicitation, both from England and the Continent. In a list sent to Cecil of the Scots whose influence it would be well to secure, the name of Buchanan occurs with a suggested *douceur* of £200, which we have no reason to suppose, however, that Buchanan ever received. From abroad he received letters from the supporters of Henry of Navarre, praying his influence in favour of their master, and impressing upon him the importance of securing an understanding between Scotland and the French Protestants.

'HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.'

The last and most ambitious work of Buchanan was his 'Rerum Scoticarum Historia,' in twenty books, that all but fills the thicker folio in Ruddiman's edition of his works. Written in advanced age and in broken health, it affords the most signal proof of Buchanan's

force of mind and indomitable spirit. As a narrative written professedly in imitation of the classical historians, its choiceness and vigour of style exacted the admiration of Buchanan's contemporaries, and for nearly two hundred years made Scottish history familiar to Continental scholars. Even by students like Archbishop Ussher it was regarded as of high historical value, and not till the present century did it definitely lose its place as a possible presentment of the history of the Scottish nation. Like most histories, it is the work of a partisan, and, consciously or unconsciously, the political lessons it inculcates are but the conclusions of his 'De Jure Regni' and "Baptistes." For the first half of the sixteenth century, however, its importance is still recognised by every competent student of Scottish history.

LAST DAYS—CONCLUSION.

All through life Buchanan suffered from ill health, and more than once he seems to have been at the point of death. Naturally of a delicate constitution, his early privations, his wandering and precarious life, sowed the seeds of the various ailments from which he suffered in his advanced years. In Buchanan's century, moreover, the conditions of life antedated the advances of age. At forty a man was then considered old; at fifty he was aged.[1] From the date of his final return to Scotland there were protracted periods when all employment was impossible for him, and during the last two years of his life he seems

[1] Thus Montaigne, who was naturally of a vigorous constitution, speaks of himself at forty as having entered the avenue of old age, when "what he shall be from that time forth will be but a half-existence, and no longer his whole self."—Essais, iii. 5.

to have been all but completely prostrate. To the last, however, he retained his clearness and alertness of mind. Visiting him in 1581, a year before his death, Andrew Melville and his nephew James found him teaching his servant the alphabet. "I see, sir," said Melville, "yie are nocht ydle." "Better this," replied Buchanan, "nor stelling sheipe, or sitting ydle, quhilk is as ill."[1] Buchanan died in Edinburgh on the 28th of September 1582, and so poor that the expense of his funeral was defrayed by the city. He was buried in the Greyfriars' churchyard, and was followed to the grave "by a great company of the faithful."[2] A simple tablet now marks the spot where he is supposed to lie; and at the north-west corner of the church a monument was erected in 1878 by David Laing, consisting of a pedestal with a bust of life-size.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century Buchanan was unquestionably the most celebrated scholar and man of letters then living in Britain. Latin was still the common language of Europe, and Buchanan was regarded by his contemporaries as at once the rival of Virgil and Livy in their own tongue. During the next century, both in England and on the Continent, his fame suffered but little diminution, and even into the eighteenth his writings were known to all with any pretensions to classical attainments. Buchanan's mastery over such a language as Latin is itself conclusive proof of the natural vigour of his mind; but his prose and verse alike attest that he had far higher gifts than those of the mere assiduous student. Wit, humour, imagination, general breadth and sagacity of mind, are present in him in such degree as fairly entitles him to rank with the highest order of intellects his country has

[1] Mr James Melville's Diary, p. 86 (edit. 1829). [2] Calderwood.

produced. His meagre remains in his mother tongue give only an imperfect idea of the range and variety of his gifts; yet even in these his manner of handling a half-developed language has the unmistakable stamp of the master of style. Of all prose writers of the Scots dialect, Knox alone is to be named with him for vigour of thought and incisiveness of phrase; and in Knox we do not find what is ever present in Buchanan — a presiding faculty that sees the beginning and the end, and subordinates the trivial to the significant, the part to the whole.

MR GEORGE BUCHANAN'S OPINION

ANENT

THE REFORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITIE OF ST ANDROS.

[On the establishment of Protestantism (1560) as the religion of the state, the Scottish reformers, in the deadly earnest that characterised all their action, set about the work of reconstruction in the three universities. As the most important of the three, St Andrews received their special attention. At the moment of the overthrow of the ancient Church, the studies and methods of instruction followed in all the three colleges of St Andrews were wholly those of mediævalism. Canon law, the logic and metaphysic of the schoolmen, made the staple of the curriculum. Latin had a distinct place assigned to it, but it was Latin as understood by men like John Major, and not as it had come to be taught by the scholars of the renaissance. As we learn from the case of Andrew Melville,* also, Greek was still unknown even in St Mary's, the most fully equipped of all the three colleges. While the curriculum was thus antiquated, the overlapping functions of the three colleges made impossible the effective and economical organisa-

* James Melville's Diary, p. 39 (edit. 1842).

tion of the university. There was no organic connection between the colleges, and the various subjects of study were promiscuously taught in each. This was, indeed, the case with all the colleges of the mediæval universities; but at St Andrews, where the number of colleges was so few, and funds were not over-abundant, a distinct function for each, and an organic connection between all, was imperatively needed in the interests of higher education.

With the clear sense of the nature of the reforms needed, the authors of the 'Book of Discipline' laid it down that the three colleges at St Andrews should each have a distinct sphere of its own: that one should provide a course in philosophy, the second a course in law, and the third a course in divinity. Like so many other excellent proposals in the 'Book of Discipline,' this proposal for the reform of St Andrews was not carried into effect; and, during the next few years, the university seems to have lost rather than gained in efficiency. By an Act of Parliament (1563), a commission was appointed to investigate the state of that university, on the ground that there was "waisting of the patrimony of sum of the fundatiounis maid in the Collegeis of the City of Sanctandros and uthers placis within this Realme for the intertenement of the youth, and that few sciences and speciallie thay that ar maist necessaire, that is to say, the toungis and humanitie, are in ane part not teichit within the said Citie to the greit detriment of the haill liegis of the Realme." The most notable among the Commissioners were Moray, Maitland, and Buchanan, and they were charged to report the result of their inquiry the following year. This they failed to do, and the only memorial of the commission is the scheme for the reconstruction of the three colleges here printed, which there is good reason to believe was the work of Buchanan himself. The original manuscript in the Advocates' Library is endorsed "Mr George Buchanans opinion anent the Reformation of the Vniversitie of St Andros, al vrytten vith his awin hand vret, 1579." The manuscript is not in Buchanan's own hand, and must have been copied at a much later date. Besides many errors he has made in his copy, the transcriber has further blundered in assigning the original to the

year 1579. As will be seen, the author of the 'Opinion' speaks of Queen Mary as still upon the throne. The original draft must therefore have been made before her abdication in July 1567; and it is reasonable to suppose that it embodies the conclusions of the Parliamentary Commission of 1563, of which Buchanan was a member.* This scheme of university reform certainly bears all the marks of Buchanan's authorship. Its clearness and succinctness, the importance it assigns to classical studies, are precisely what we should expect from his own intellectual ideals and the sound sense that made the foundation of his character. Moreover, in that part of the plan which deals with the *College of Humanite* there seem to be reminiscences of Sainte-Barbe and the Collége de Guyenne, which further stamp it as the production of Buchanan.

Buchanan's scheme differs materially from that of the 'Book of Discipline,' but resembles it in so far that it assigns a separate function to each of the three colleges. From a modern point of view it appears a ludicrously inadequate presentment of the scope of a university. In judging its merits, however, we must have regard not only to the state of studies at the period, but the means at the disposal of those who were most eager for university reform. From the confusion of the years that followed the change of religion, it was only the most modest schemes of university reconstruction that had any chance of being carried into effect; and, as it happened, neither the proposals of the authors of the 'Book of Discipline,' nor those of Buchanan, nor those of Andrew Melville in 1579, were ever realised.

It has been objected to Buchanan's plan that "its author had his attention too exclusively directed to the cultivation of languages and humanity." † It may be safely said, however, that in attaching the importance he did to humane studies, Buchanan was meeting the deepest intellectual need of his age, and that he was in the

* Another University Commission was appointed by Parliament in 1579. The transcriber probably confounded this commission with the previous one. Buchanan, it should be said, sat on both commissions.

† M'Crie, Life of Andrew Melville, pp. 356, 357 (edit. 1856).

true line of the best thinkers and educationists of the sixteenth century. The great work of that century in the development of men's minds was to recover language from the corruption into which it had fallen in the hands of the later schoolmen. With language in the state to which it had come by the middle of the fifteenth century, just thinking on any subject whatever was an impossibility. In the study of the Latin and Greek classics, therefore, men found the very discipline they needed to rationalise their modes of speech, and so eventually to train them to right methods in the general search for truth. It may also be said that had Buchanan's ideal of a liberal education taken deeper root in Scotland, and the ancient languages come to be studied in the spirit which he advocated, the sterile scholasticism which subsequently stunted and distorted the Scottish intellect would at least in some degree have been mitigated, and a larger scope ensured for the development of the national genius.

As regards the other subjects (science and divinity) which have their place in Buchanan's scheme, they hardly deserved greater importance than he assigns them. Science had no considerable body of rationally systematised knowledge that demanded a large provision in any university. Of the matter of science and the methods of its professors we have a shining example in the famous Jerome Cardan, who had lately (1552) visited Scotland to try his skill on Archbishop Hamilton. Cardan's treatment of his patient, his diagnosis of his disease, and the prescription he eventually left behind him for its cure, prove very conclusively that the time had not yet come when science should reign in the schools. Neither did divinity, as understood by the religious bodies which had broken with the Church of Rome, deserve a larger place than Buchanan saw fit to assign it. For Protestants, much that had been required of the mediæval doctor of theology was no longer profitable or necessary. Canon law, the interminable study of the mediæval theologian, had little importance for the Reformed Churches; and in a Protestant university only those Fathers could be read whose writings were supposed to confirm the new doctrines in religion. Church history, it would seem, had not yet

attained the dignity of a special study, since Andrew Melville, in his elaborate scheme for erecting St Mary's into a theological college,* gives it no place in his curriculum. Melville's preposterous plan, indeed, is itself the best proof that Buchanan was well advised in assigning theology the subordinate place he did. In Melville's theological college there were to be five professors, and the course was to be five years. The first professor was to teach Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac the first year; the second was to apply these languages to the critical explanation of the Pentateuch and historical books; the fourth was to compare the Greek Testament with the Syriac version; and the fifth to lecture on systematic divinity. When we remember what Biblical exegesis meant in Scotland during the sixteenth century, we at once see that this theological course sketched by Melville would have been but the continuation of those arid methods and inane discussions of the schoolmen, which it had been the mission of the humanists to explode. In the interests of theology itself, therefore, at the stage which it had then attained, Buchanan's plan was probably the most rational that could have been suggested. It would, at least, have ensured what even to-day would be no inadequate equipment for the minister of any church,—a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics, crowned by a similar knowledge of the sources of his religion.

Buchanan's 'Opinion' was first printed by Irving as Appendix III. to his 'Memoirs of Buchanan' (edit. 1817). It was afterwards (1836) more carefully re-edited for the Bannatyne Club in the second volume of their 'Miscellany.' The Bannatyne editor speaks as if Irving had followed a different original from himself; but this must have been an oversight, as Irving expressly says (p. 178, note) that he followed the MS. in the Advocates' Library, which the later edition also reproduced, only with greater accuracy. As far as I am aware, this MS. is the only original text we possess.]

* Melville's plan embodied the advice of the Parliamentary Commission of 1579. The character of this plan shows that it was mainly the work of Melville.

THE ORDINAR EXPENSIS OF THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITE.[1]*

Personis.

The Principal.
Ane Lectour Publik.
Vj Regentis.

Servantis.

The Principal ij.
The Lectour Public ane.
The Cuik.
The Portar.
The Stewart.
The Pantriman.

For the principal and ij ſervantis ij quartis of ayl, ij bread, of xvj vnce the bread, ane quartar of mouton, or equiualent in ſylver, or the fiſche day, ij ſ.

Summa.

Of mault, xij gallons the bol,	.	xv bŧis and ane half.
In bread of quheit,	. .	6 bŧis.
For kytchyn meat,	. .	xxxv ŧbis.

The public lectour j quart of ayl, ane bread and ane half.

Item half ane quartar of mouton at the principalis table. And he be maryit, or hald hous out of the college, that it ſalbe leful to hym to haif ane burdit in the college at the principalis table in his place, or ellis the pryce of the buirding abuve written.

Summa.

Of mault,	. . . .	vij bŧis 3 ſ.
In bread,	. . . .	4 bŧis 2 ſ.
In ſylver,	. . . .	xviij ŧbs.

The vj regentis euery man thre chopins of ayl, and xx vnce of bread dayly, and amangis thayme ane quartar of mouton and ane

* These figures refer to the notes at the end of the volume.

half, or equiualent; that is, for fiſche or fleſche on the day v ſ.; v3. on the fiſche day ij course of fiſche, and every man ane eg at the mailteth, or ane heryng, eftyr the ſeaſon and oportunite.

Summa.

Of mault, . . .	xxxv błis.
Of quheit, . . .	xxii błis, j ſ.
Of ſylver, . . .	lxxxxj pundis v ſ.

The cuik, stewart, portar, and pantriman, ilk ane of thayme ane bread, ane pyint of ayl the day, and half ane quartar of mouton, or equiualent, amang thayme, ane cours of fyſche at mailteth, xvi d the day.

Summa.

Of mault, . . .	xj błis 2 ſ. 2 p.
Of ait meil, . . .	xv błis.
Of ſylver, . . .	xxiiii łbs vi ſh. 8 d.

Wagis of the Personis.[2]

The principal ane hundreth pund.

The publik lectour ane hundreth markis.

The sex regentis ſex scoir of pundis, to be diuidit at the principalis discretion, and paction maid with thayme.

The cuik and portar xij marks.

The steuart to be payit be the principal off the profet of the portionistis.[3]

For colis, napre, veſchel, and other extraordinaris concerning the hal and kitching xl pund ȝeirly.

For reparation of the place xl pund ȝeirly.

Of the quhilk reparation the principal ſal geif coumpt ȝeirly to the cenſouris and rectour for the tyme.

The Hail Soume.

In drynk of mault . .	lxix błis iij ſ. ij. pkis.
In quheit . . .	xxxj błis j ſ.
In ſilver . .	five hundret xlvij łbs x ſ x d.

Item for ilk bursar, ſa mony as ſalbe thocht necessair to be in the College of Humanite, ane bread and ane pyint of ayl on the day, the ſext part of ane quartar of mouton, or the valour thairof.

THE ORDRE OF THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITE.

The scholaris that cumis of new ſal addreſse thayme to the principal, quha ſal cauſe thayme to compone, and examine thayme, and eftyr thair capacite send thayme to ane regent with hys signet, and the regent sal writ thayme in hys rol, and assigne thayme place in hys classe diuidit in decuriis.

The bairnis of thys college sal heir na other lessons bot thair regentis, and the lectour public in humanite sa mony as salbe fund able be the principal. And that quhilk is red in thys college sal nocht be red in otheris.

The bairnis of thys college sal nother ga furth be themselves nor ȝit with ane regent without the principalis leif. Al other thyngis partenyng to discipline scolastic to be doin as commodite and tyme occurris.

The nombre of the classis at the leist sex.[4]

[*The VI. Classe.*][5]

The lawast class is for thayme that suld declin the namis, and the verbes actives, passives, and anomales, and eftyr that lear Terence and the rudimentis of grammar as followis. Thay sal bring to the classe paper and ink, and the regent sal cause thayme to writ twa or thre lynis of Terence, tellyng nocht only to thayme the lettres and the word but als the accent in sik lasar that the bairnis may easely writ eftyr his pronunciation. And efter that he sal geif the interpretation in Scottis correspondant to the Latin, garryng thayme all writ. Syne he sal declair euery word, and cause thayme to writ severally all the nounes and the verbes that be in thair lesson, geif command to lear thayme against the nixt lesson, and als bring that lesson quhilk was maid in the classe without ony falt writtin. The nomenclatouris to haif charge to gather the lessons writtin, euery ane in hys awyne decurio, and

bring thayme to the regent, and schaw hym quha has faltis. And geif the regent find falt quhairof the nomenclator has nocht advertysit hym, than he sal punyss baith the writar and the nomenclator, to mak thayme mair diligent in tyme to cum. And na man sal mend otheris faltis vntil thay cum to the regent. In thys classe thay salbe constranit to speik Latin, and dayly to compone sum smal thyng eftyr thair capacite.

The V. Classe.

Thys classe sal reid Terence,[6] and sum of the maist facil epistles of Cicero,' alternatim, and als the reulis of grammar assignat to thayme, without commentair, bot only the expresse wordis and sentence of the reul: and thay sal writ baith Terence and Cicero, euery man with hys awyn hand.

The IV. Classe.

Thys classe sal reid of Terence and Cicero sum thyng mair than the classis onder thayme, and als *de constructione octo partium;* and the latter half of the ȝeir sal reid sum epistles of Ouide, or other of hys elegyis, and als writ al thair lessons, except the grammar, and compone largear themes than the nether classis. And al thyr classis salbe vesiit euery quartar of ȝeir, and promovit hyear efter thair meritis.

The III. Classe.

Thys classe sal reid the grammar in Grek, the epistles of Cicero, and sum of the maist facil orations, with sum buik of Ouide, and the quantiteis of syllabes, and sum introduction of rhetorik, and sum of the bukis of Linaceris grammar,[7] and salbe mair exercisit in composition than the otheris lawar.

The Secund and Fyrst Class.

Thyr classis sal reid the rethorikis of Cicero, and hys orationis, and for poetis, Virgil, Horace, Ouide, and sum of Homer or Hesiode. The auditouris salbe diligently exercisit in verse,[8] and oration, and declamation euery moneth, ilk ane thair cours about. Item, generaly disputations to be had euery Satterday fra ane efter

none to four houris, ane classe aganis ane other, fixing themis alternatim, and syne componing on themis ditit be regentis of other classis or other maisters.

At the end of the ȝeir,[9] in the moneth of August or thairby, all the haill classis sal propone themis oppinly, and affix thayme vpon the college wallis, or in the great schol or hallis. The principal sal cheis ane certaine of the best of the fyrst classe and secund, and send thayme to sum of the honest men of other collegis, or sum other lernit man beyng present for the tyme, and desire that he propone thayme ane theme in prose and ane other in verse. Thair salbe twa bonnittis proponet[10] to be given solemnly to the twa that makis best composition, with honorable wordis to encourage otheris in tyme to cum to emulation; and that the honest and principal personis of the vniversitie assistand, and exhortyng the studentis to be diligent, and raise thair curage.

Heir efter because the maist part of the countrey will be glaid to se thair bairnis, and mak thayme clathys, and provid to thair necessiteis the rest of the ȝeir, thair may be gevin sum vacans on to the first day of October,[11] on the quhilk day al lessonis begynnis againe in al collegis. At the quhilk day naine salbe promovit to na classe without he be examinat be the principal and regentis committit thairto.

The principal salbe diligent[12] that euery regent do hys devtie, and that the bairnis be obedient, and to that effect mak sum particular reulis sik as salbe fund gud be the rectour and censouris for peceable governing of the college; and at the begynning of October, the principal sal present befor thayme the said regentis; and geif ony inlak be seiknes or other necessite, he sal present ane qualefyit persone to thayme. And geif the principal inlak,[13] the vniversitie and conservatour or hys deputis sal convein, and cheiss of the hail vniversitie four of the best qualefyit personis to that office, and writ thair names: and eftyr prayer maid, that God of his gudenes wald send the sort apon hym that war habliast to exerce that estat to hys glore and common weil, ane barne sal draw of the four ane, the quhilk salbe principal, and thys to put away al deception and ambition.

The principal sal support the defectis of absens of the public reidar and regentis. And siklyk in the principalis absence, euery man in hys ordre sal haif hys jurisdiction and correction of the studentis.

The portar sal abyd continualy at the ȝet, and receave the principalis signet of thayme that desiris to pas furth. Item, in sommer[14] he sal ryng dayly at v houris to the rising; at sax to the lesson public; before viij, twys to the ordinar lection; at ten he sal knel; at half houre to xi knel; at xi ryng to the dennar; at grace knel; to repetition eftyr grace ring; or iij howris ryng twyiss; at halfe houre to five knel; at v ryng.

Al the studentis remanyng in the college salbe distribut be chalmeris onder cure of the principal or sum regent or pedagogis[15] lernit and of jugement, quha sal haif cure of thayr studie and diligens; bot nocht to reid ony particular lection to thayme, bot to cause thayme to geif compt of it that thay reid in the classe. Nor ȝit sal it be leful to the said pedagogis to ding thair disciples, bot only to declair the falt to the principal, or to thair regent, and refer the punition to thayme.

In thys college nayne sal persever[16] regent in humanite abuve the space of vij or viij ȝeir.

The thre law classis[17] sal nocht be subject to cum to preaching or exercise public, except on the Sonday. The other preachyng and exercise days, ane regent salbe committit to se that thay be dewly exercisit and specialy in lerning to writ.

THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHIE.[18]

Personis.

Ane Principal.
Ane Reidar in Medicine.[19]
And Regents iiij.

Servantis.

The Principal ij.
The Medicine j.

The Cuik.
The Portar.
The Stewart.
The Pantriman.

The Principalis portion and salair as in the College of Humanite.
The Medicins as the Lectour Public in Humanite.
The rest vt supra proportionately.

Summa.

In bread.
In drink.
In sylver.

The bursaris 12 vt supra, euery ane xvi ℔is the ȝeir, or vt supra.

For colis, candil, napre, and veschel, xl pund ȝeirly.

For reparation of the place, xl pund ȝeirly.

The hayl subject to compt vt supra.

The principal to be ane man of iconomie, and sufficient doctrine to supple the regentis absens in redyng in thair seiknes or lauful besynes. Item, to haif al sik autorite on regentis, and studentis, and servants of the college, and to geif compt to the rectour and censoris as forsaid is in the College of Humanite at euery visitation.

The first regent reid the dialectic, analitic, and moralis, in the first ȝeir and half; and the other ȝeir and half, the natural philosophie, metaphysik, and principis of mathematik. Swa in thre ȝeris [20] thyr regentis sal pas be degreis the hail cours of dialectic, logic, physik, and metaphysik; the rest of the tyme to repet and pas thair actis. Thay sal reid sik bukis of Aristotil, or other philosophes as the principal sal praescrive to thayme.

Na man salbe admittit at the begynning of the ȝeir to the philosophie that has nocht passit be the first or second classe of humanite, or geif he be ane strangear, be jugit worthy of the first or secund classe be trial of composition in verse and prose.

The Ordre of Redyng.

Al the regentis sal begyn baith sommer and winther at vi howris in the mornyng to thair ordinar lessons, and at the begynning sal mak ane schort prayer for promotion of lernyng and the estat of the common weil. Thay sal reid vnto viij houris, the quhilk being strokin, the bel sal ryng to the medicinis lesson, quha sal reid on to ix houris; and fra ix to ten salbe intermission. In the rest of the howris thay salbe exercisit in disputyng and reidyng as the College of Humanite; and the regent in euery classe sal cause the ane part to disput aganis the other. On Satterday euery classe sal propone certaine propositions, quhilk afoir none sal be examinat and disput againe be the regentis betuix viij and xj howris; and eftyr none the disciples of the superiour classe sal disput aganis the inferiour betwix ane and thre howris.

The Promotion of thayr Degreis.

At the end of the first ij ȝeiris thay[21] salbe maid bachelaris, quhair nocht only thay sal declair publicly quhat thai haif profettit be thair industrie and labouris, bot alswa thay sal ansuer priuatly to iiij examinatouris, deput be the vniversite, of the dialectic, logic and moralis; and quha beis nocht fund hable, salbe deposit to ane lowar classe. And siklik, at the end of the ȝeir and half followyng, to be examinat of the natural philosophie, metaphysik, and mathematik. The examinatouris salbe graduat, ane in theologie, ane that has red in philosophie, ane of profession of medicine passit maister, and ane regent in humanite; quha, on thair conscience, sal declair to the rectour and censouris quha ar worthy of promotion or nocht. Efter the quhylk declaration, the rectour sal decerne the onworthy to be deposit for tyme convenient to ane inferiour classe, swa that na man be admittit to resave degre except that he haif promouit in lettres.

To the banquettis[22] of actis of bachelar and licence the riche sal nocht pay abuve xl ß, the puir ten ß, to augment the common portion of the college; swa that the convention of honest men of the

vniuersitie be with modestie and temperance. Item, sa mony of the assistandis to thys act as be graduat in divinite, lawis, or medicine, or presently regentis in philosophe or humanite, sal haif for thair presens and decoryng of the act, ane pair of gluvis. And the principal of the said college sal tak head that thyr thyngis be performit, as he wil ansuer to the jugement of the rectour and censouris.

The nombre of bursaris xxiiij, sustenit as is praescrivit in the College of Humanite.

Nayne sal persevere regent in thys college langar than the space of twa coursis.

The medicine sal reid iiij days in the weik, ane hore euery day in medicine; and geif he inlakis, the principal sal deduce sa mekle of hys gagis to be vsit to the common profet of the college.

THE COLLEGE OF DIUINITE.

Personis.

Ane Principal, to be Reidar in Hebrew.
Ane Lawer.

Servantis.

The Principal ij.
The Lawer j.
Cuik.
Pantriman.
Stewart.
Portar.

Their expensis vt supra. Vz. the principal as other principalis. The lawer 40 ℔bis. The cuik, portar, stewart, and pantriman, vt supra. Bursaris xviij of thayme, sex in law and xij in theologie, thair expensis vt supra. In thys collegis, because that the studentis ar in nombre fewar and of gretar age than in the otheris,

the principal and lectour in Hebrew may be ane persone; the quhilk sal reid iiij days euery weik.

The Thursday ane student in diuinite sal expone ane pas of the Scripture, the space of ane hore; and that being doin, sal ansor to the objections of euery man that pleasis to disput aganis hym the space of ane hore and half. The principal sal se that gud ordre[23] be kepit in disputing, without superfluite of wordis nothyng partening to the propos, without dinrie or pertinacite in contention; and that euery auditour in diuinite ansver hys cours about, as salbe ordanit by the principal. To speik in the publik exercise, and expone the Scripture, sal entice nocht only the auditouris of diuinite, sik as salbe thoucht expedient, bot als the regentis in other faculteis.

The lawar sal reid dayly ane hore in law, except on the Thursday.

Thair salbe xviij bursaris in thys college; vz. sex in law, and xij auditouris in diuinite.

THE COMMON MAGISTRATIS AND OFFICIARIS OF THE VNIUERSITE.

Ane Rectour.

The rectour most be ane discreit and grave person, doctor or bachelar in the hyear faculteis, or principal of ane college, or presently regent in diuinite, law or medicine, of age abuve thretty ȝeris; and salbe chosin be the hayl graduattis of the vniuersite,[24] within ane of the thre collegis, the conservatour or hys deput being present; quha sal requir the convention in thair conscience, that out of euery college thair be ane chosin, quha sal declair the votis of the college faithfully gadderit, and declair hym rectour quha has moniast votis, swa that he haif nocht been rectour within twa ȝeris afoir. The rectouris tyme to be ane ȝeir, without continuation: and geif, be ambition or otherway, the maist part of the

votis contenew hym, al thayr votis that tendis to continuation, to be nul.

The rectouris office is principaly in kęping of the discipline scolastic, as in visitation of the collegis twyss or thryis in the ȝeir, to se that thė ordre be kepit in teching, in mutations of classis, in disputations priuat and publik: item, that the rentis of the vniuersite be noct misspendit, that na idle person be haldin on the gagis or expensis of the vniuersite, nor onworthy promovit to degre, and mak ane registre of al that entres in the nombre of the vniuersite, and sal enjoy the priuelege thairof.

Conservatour.

The conservatour of priuilege[25] most haif autorite to cal befor hym al actions or questions movit be thayme of the vniuersite aganis ony personis in materis twiching studentis, as being studentis; and hys decreit sal haif redy execution, notwithstanding ony appellation, without delay or appellation out of the vniuersite. Hys gagis to be payit to hym or hys deput of the archdenry; because in tymes by past the archidene, or bischeppis, war conservatouris, or sum deput for thayme, and now is raisonable that thay susteine the samyn charge.

The thesaurar salbe chosin anis in the ȝeir, the samyn day that the censouris beis chosin, and sal geif compt at the ȝeris end to the censouris the day afor the cheising of the new censouris.

The salair of the rectour, thesaurar, and censoris, to be payit of the casualiteis of the vniuersite, as it that cumis of the entres of the studentis in the rectouris bukis, and of the degreis. Als the beddel to be payit of the samyn. The gagis of the rectour, censouris, thesaurair, and beddel, and als al thyr casualiteis, to be sa moderat that thay be nocht excessiue in na qualite.

Item, that the Quenis grace, and lordis of the parlement, be requirit to pas ane act that thre ȝeris efter the performing of thys reformation, na man be providit to susteine office of preachour or techour in the kyrk, except thay haif beine dewly graduat in the scholis.

The Rental of St Leonardis College.

In sylver, ...	132 ℔is. 2 ſ. 4 d.
Qwheit, ...	2 chald. 12 bȝis.
Bear, ...	13 chald. 11 bȝis. 2 ſ. 2 p.
Ait meil, ...	8 ch. 8 bȝis.

Sanct Salvatouris, al being fre.

In sylver, ...	642 ℔is.
Qwheit, ...	3 ch. 13 bȝis.
Bear, ...	8 ch. 2 bȝis.
Aitis, ...	19 ch. 3 bȝis.

The New College, al being fre.

In sylver, besyid Tannadyss quhen it sal vaik,	510 ℔is.
Qwheit, ...	3 ch. 8 bȝis.
Bear, ...	6 ch.
Atis, ...	5 ch.

The Hayl Soume.

In sylver, . . .	1284 ℔is. 2 ſ. 4 d.
Qwheit, ...	10 ch. 1 bȝis.
Bear, ...	27 ch. 13 bȝis. 2 ſ. 2 p.
Ait meil, ...	8 ch.
Aitis, ...	24 ch. 3 b. [8 bȝis]

ANE ADMONITIOUN

TO THE

TREW LORDIS MAINTENARIS OF JUSTICE, AND OBEDIENCE TO THE KINGIS GRACE.*

[THOUGH first printed in 1571, the 'Admonitioun' must have been written early in the preceding year. Two passages in the tract enable us approximately to fix the date of its composition. In one of these passages reference is made to the assassination of John Wood, secretary to the lately murdered Regent Moray. As Wood was assassinated on the 15th April 1570 (Pitcairn, 'Criminal Trials,' p. 170), the 'Admonitioun' could not have been out of Buchanan's hands till after that date. In the other passage Buchanan seems to imply that Elizabeth had not yet carried out her purpose of sending an invading force into Scotland. But such a force actually entered Scotland under the Earl of Sussex at the end of April 1570. It would seem, therefore, that this pamphlet of Buchanan must have been written between the 15th April and the end of that month.

The 'Admonitioun,' like the 'Chamæleon,' had its origin in the critical state of affairs that followed the murder of the Regent

* I should perhaps say that in the introduction to the different pieces of Buchanan, I have occasionally repeated what I have said in my life of that scholar.

†

ANE ADMONI-
TIOVN DIRECT TO THE
trew Lordis maintenaris of Iuſtice, and
obedience to the Kingis Grace.

M. G. B.

IMPRENTIT AT
STRIVILING BE ROBERT
LEKPREVIK.

ANNO. DO. M. D. LXXI.

Moray. Two parties, the one aiming at the restoration of Mary, the other at a regency during the minority of her son James, tore the country in twain. When Buchanan wrote his 'Admonitioun,' Scotland was without even a nominal head, since Lennox was not chosen to the regency till June 1570, and Mary was a prisoner in England. It was out of this state of affairs (in the most literal sense a state of anarchy) that Buchanan spoke in his 'Admonitioun.'

In the 'Admonitioun' Buchanan's main contention is that in the safety of the young king lies the only hope for liberty and religion in Scotland; and the object of this pamphlet is to place before James's supporters (especially the Protestant lords) the national ruin that must follow the defeat of their cause. The great enemies they have to fear are the Hamiltons, whose triumph would only bring disaster to king and country alike. To make this contention good, he sketches at length the history of that family through the last half-century, and proves that its action all along had known but one motive — the acquisition of the crown for the head of their house. By religion and politics alike Buchanan was opposed to the aims of the house of Hamilton, and his feelings were whetted by the long-standing feud between them and the house of Lennox. The Hamiltons had but lately murdered the statesman whom Buchanan had admired most, the Regent Moray; they had taken an active part in the murder of Darnley; it was through them that Darnley's father had been so long exiled from Scotland; and it was one of their house who had brutally slain the grandfather of Darnley after he had surrendered himself a prisoner of war.

Editions of the 'Admonitioun.'

1. Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis Maintenaris of Justice, and Obedience to the Kingis Grace. M. G. B. Imprentit at Striviling be Robert Lekprevik. Anno. do. mdlxxi.

2. Another edition by Lekprevik in same year. In this edition a paragraph beginning "The third conspiracie" was added. Many

words are also spelt differently, and in a manner that curiously illustrates the uncertain orthography of the period.

3. A third edition was "imprinted at London by John Daye, according to the Scotish copie" (1571, 8vo).

4. Ruddiman, 'Buchanani Opera' (Edin., 1715). The 'Admonitioun' appears in Ruddiman's first volume. He professes to have followed Lekprevik's edition, and "to have compared it with a MS. copy carefully transcribed from one in the Cotton Library."* Ruddiman's reprint, however, is simply a somewhat Anglicised reproduction of Lekprevik's first edition.

Irving ('Memoirs of Buchanan,' p. 154, ed. 1817) has the following interesting note regarding Ruddiman's publication of the 'Admonitioun': "It is a curious anecdote, for which I am indebted to Sir William Hamilton, Bart., that the 'Admonitioun' was actually printed for Ruddiman's edition, and, from some prudential considerations on the part of the editor or publisher, was afterwards suppressed. A copy of the first volume of that edition which belonged to Ruddiman himself, and which is now in the possession of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., has the 'Admonitioun' inserted before the 'Chamæleon.'"

In all the copies of Ruddiman's edition of Buchanan that I have seen, except one in the possession of my friend Mr David Patrick, the 'Admonitioun' appears. Burmann, in his edition of Buchanan (Lugd. Bat., 1725), prints the 'Chamæleon' but not the 'Admonitioun.'

5. The Harleian Miscellany (1747). The 'Admonitioun' appears in vol. iii. The text is that of Ruddiman.

6. Irving, 'Memoirs of Buchanan' (Edin., 1817). Irving reproduces Lekprevik's second edition in Appendix II.

7. The Works of Mr George Buchanan in the Scottish Language, containing the Chamæleon, a satire against the Laird of Lidingtone, and Ane Admonitioun to the true Lords, maintainars

* Ruddiman rightly conjectured that this MS. had "been transcribed by an English hand." It is, in fact, an Anglicised version of the original Scots. For the purpose of collation, therefore, it is of little value.

of Justice and Obedience to the King's Grace (Edinburgh: printed and published by David Webster, Horse Wynd, 1823).

Webster also follows Lekprevik's second edition.

The text of the 'Admonitioun' here produced is that of a MS. among the State Papers (Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xvii. No. 24), which has been copied for the first time for the present volume. In all probability this MS. is a first draft of the pamphlet sent by Buchanan to Cecil immediately on its completion. That it is an early draft is proved by the fact that it does not contain the paragraph beginning "The third conspiracie," which was added in the second edition. From both of Lekprevik's editions it also differs in the addition and omission of many phrases, and even whole sentences. A comparison of the two texts shows that, in almost every case where they differ, the advantage is with the MS. in vigour and directness of expression. From a philological point of view, also, the MS. possesses greater interest, as its language is purer than that of either of Lekprevik's editions. It should be added that the marginal comments in the original are in Cecil's hand.]

EXHORTATIŌ IN SCOTTISH TO YE L. OF YE PY COUNSELL AGAYNST THE HAMILTONS.*

It may seame to ȝour ll. that I melling wt hie materis of governing of coñoun weill pas myne estait being of sa meane qualitie and forȝettis my devoir geving to the counsale to the wysest of this realme. Notyeles seing the miserie sa greit apperand and ye calamitie sa neir approcheand I thot it lesse falt to incur the cryme of surmonting my priuat estait nor ye blame of neglecting ye publict dangeare. Thairfoir I chosit rather to underly ye opinioun of presumptioun in speking than of tressoun in silence And specialie in sic thingis as seme pfitlie to redound to

* State Papers, Scotland, Eliz., vol. xvii. No. 24. Endorsed as above.

ppetuall schame of 3o^{r} l. distructioun of this royall estait and rewyne of ye haill coñoun weill of scotland. On this consideratioun I haif tane at yis tyme on hand to aduerteis 3our hono^{rs} of sic thingis as I tho^{t} to ꝑtene bay^{t} to 3o^{r} l. in speciall and in generall to ye haill coñunitie of yis realme in punitioun of trato^{r} pacificatioun of troubles amangis o^{r} selffis and continewatioun of peace w^{t} o^{r} ny^{t}bouris / Of the quhilk I haif tane the travell to wryte and remittis the jugement to 3our discretioun having yat hoip at ye leist yat gif my wit and foirsicht can not satisfie 3ow my gude will sall not displeis 3ow of the quhilk aduertisement the sum̃ar is this—

First to considder how godlie is ye actioun that 3e haif tane on hand to writ The defence of 3our king ane Innocent pupill the establissing of religioun punitioun of thevis and tratouris manteinance of peace and quietnes amangis 3our selffis and w^{t} forayne nationis—

Nixt to remembir how 3e haue vindicat this realme out of thraldome of strangearis[26] out of domestik tyranne and out of ane publict dishonour anentis all forayne nationis quhair we wer altogidder estemit ane people murtherare of kingis impacient of lawis and magistrattis in respect of ye murthour of ye lait king Henry w^{t}in ye wallis of ye principall towne the greittest of ye nobilitie being pñt w^{t} ye Quene for ye tyme And how eftir 3our power 3e tryit out ane ꝑt of ye cheif tratouris frome amangis ye trew subjectis and constranit strangearis to prays eftirwart als mekill 3our justice as yai had afoir condampnit Wrangusle 3our Injustice—

Item remembir howfar in doing the samyn 3e haif obleist 3our selffis befoir ye haill warld to continew in yatilk vertew of justice and quhat blame 3e sall incur gif 3e be inconstant for all men can beleif no vther gif ye tyme following be not conforme to ye bipast) Bot that nowther honour nor coñoun weill sterit 3ow up than bot rather sum ꝑticular respect of 3our propir and prevat coñoditie /

Alswa considder how mony gentill and honest meanys 3e haif socht in tyme bipast to caus ye king be knawlegeit and ye cuntre

put at rest And how unproffittabill hes bene ȝour honestie in treating ȝour valiant courage in weare / ȝour mercifull hartis in victorie ȝour clemency in punissing and facilitie in reconciliatioun. Quhilk thingis all testifeis sufficientlie that ȝe estemit na man ennemy yat wald leif in peace under ye kingis authoritie That ȝe wer neuir desyrous of blude geir nor honour of sic as wald not rather in making of troubill and seditioun declair yame selffis ennemeis to God and ye kingis grace nor leif in concord and amytie w^t y^r ny^tbouris under ye correctioun of justice ⁓

And sen ȝe can nowther bow thair obstinat hicht w^t pacience nor mease[27] thair stubburne hartis w^t gentilnes nor satisfie y^r Immoderat desyris vy^rwayis than w^t y^e kingis blude and ȝo^r l. distructioun of religioun banyssing of justice and fre ꝑmissioun of crueltie and disordo^r quhat kynd of medecine is not onelie meit bot als necessarie for mending of sic ane maladie ȝour wisdomes may easelie considder ⁓

And to ye effect yat ȝe may ye bettir understand yis necessitie of medecine Remember quhat kynd of people thay ar yat professis yame selffis in deid / and dissimulis in word to be ennemeis to God and to justice and to ȝow becaus ȝe manteine ye kingis actioun /

Sum of yame ar counsalouris of ye kingis slauchter Sum convoyaris of him to ye scamles that slew his guidschir banissit his fader and not satisfiit to haif slane him murtherit cruellie this kingis regent and now sekis his awin saikles blude that yai may fulfill being kingis yat crueltie and avarice quhilk yai begouth to exercise in tyme of yair governing. / Otheris ar yat being allyat or neir of kin to the Hamiltonis thinkis to be ꝑticipant of all yair prosperitie and successe ⁓ Otheris yat being giltie of ye kingis deid socht be all maner possibill to put doun ye ȝoung king that he sould not rest to revenge his faderis deid The quhilk thay tho^t could not be mair easelie done than bringing hame ye quene w^t sic ane husband[28] as outher for auld hatrent or for new couatise wald des^{ar} ye first degre of successioun to his awin blude ⁓

Sum vtheris are practizit in casting* of courtis revolting of estaittis and weare ciuile and ar becum richar than euir yai hopit And becaus yai haif fund ye practiȝe sa gude in tyme bipast now yai seik alwayis to continew it And having anys gustit how gude fischeing it is in drumly Watter thay can on na maner laif ye craft. /

Otheris ar of yat factioun sum papistis sum fenȝeit protestantis yat hes na god bot geir and desyris agane ye papistrie / Not for luif yai beir to it (for yai ar scornaris of all religioun) bot hoping promotioun of ydill belleis to benefices and lamentis yis pñt estait, quhair as yai say ministeris gettis all and leavis na thing to gude fallowis And to yis intent yai mak yame to set up ye quenis authoritie Sum are als yat under cullour of yat name thinkis to evade punitioun of auld faltis and to haif licence in tyme to cum to oppresse y^r ny^tbouris feblar yan yai / Now I leif to ȝour cõjecture quhat frute is to be hopit of ane assemble of sic men as ar togidder mensworne to god to y^r king and for ye maist pt of unsaciabill gredines intollerabill arrogance w^tout fay^t in promeis mesour in covatise / petie to ye inferiour, obedience to ye superiour in peace desyrous of troubill in Weare thrusty of blude nurissaris of thevis rasaris of rebellioun counsalo^rs of tratouris / inuentaris of tressoun / w^t hand reddy to murtho^r / mynd to dissaif hart void of trewth / and full of fellony toung trampit in dissait[29] and speche tending to fals practiȝe w^tout veritie. Be quhilk proprieteis and mony vther yat I omit as knawin to all men ȝe yat knawis yair begynning progresse and haill lyff may easelie remember to quhome yis generall speking pteins in speciall And als it is not unknawin to sic as knawis ye psonis how yai ar mellit w^t godles papistes harlat protestantis cõmon brybouris halie in word hypocretis in hart proud contempnars or machiavell[30] mokkaris of all religioun and vertew.

It is als necess^e to ȝo^rl. to understand yair pretens^e that gif it be ane thing yat may stand w^t ye tranquillitie of yis cõmoun weill ȝo^r l. may in sum pt rather condiscend to yair inordinat lust nor put ye haill estait in haȝard of ane battell.

* Eascing.

First it is not honour richesse nor authoritie yat yai stryve for / For yai haif had and hes and als may haif in tyme to cum sic part of all thay thingis as ane priuat man may haif in yis realme not being chargeabill to ye cuntre or not suspectit to ane king and assurit of his awin estait. /

It is not ye deliuerance of ye quene yat yai seik / as yair doingis contrair to yair word testifiis manifestlie. For gif yai wald haif hir deliuerit thay wald haif procurit be al maner possibill the quene of inglandis fauour and support in quhais power the haill recoverance standis onelie / and not offendit hir sa heichlie as yai haif done and dois dalie in ꝑticipatioun of ye conspyrit tressoun to put hir grace not onelie out of hir estait bot out of yis lyff present nor in ressetting and mainteining of hir rebellis[31] contrair to promeis and solemnit contract of pacificatioun betuix yir twa realmis nor ȝit haif hundit furth proude and incircumspect ȝoung men to herry slay burne and tak presonaris in hir realme and use crueltie not onelie vsit in weare bot detestabill to all barbary in slaying of presonaris and breking of promesse to miserabill catives ressauit anys to yair mercy ∽

And all yis wes done be cõmandement of sic as sayis yat yai seik the quenis deliuerance and reprochit to yame be ye doaris of yir mischevis saying yat yai had enterit yame in dangeare and not supportit in mister[32] samekill as to cum and ly in Lauder and luke fra yame quhairby apperis yair maist hie tresoun agains ye quene pretending hir authoritie and stopping hir libertie / quhilk as euerie man may se cleirlie thay socht as ye man yat socht his wyff drownit in ane river agains ye watter[33] ∽

It is not ye quenis authoritie yat yai wald set up in hir absens. For gif yat were yair intentioun / quhome could yai place in it mair friendlike to hir yan hir onelie sone or quhat gouernour may be put to him or lieutenent to hir less suspect nor sic men as hes na pretens of successioun to ye croun nor ony hoip of proffeit of yair deceis or yai yat euir hes bene trew to kingis afoir him / sould yai not be preferrit to his paternall ennemeis and to slayaris of his father and sollicitars of strangearis to seik his innocent blude. /

Quhat yan sall we think yat yir men seik under pretens of ye

quenis authoritie seing yat yai can not nor will not bring hame the quene to set up in it nor suffer hir sone to brouke it / I traist it is not vneasie to ꝑsave be yair haill progresse alsweill now presentlie as in tyme bipast that yai meane na vyer thing bot ye deid of ye king and quene of scotland to set up ye hamiltonis authoritie to ye quhilk yai haif aspyrit be craftie meanys yir lvij ȝeris bipast and seing yat yair intent succedit not be craft Now yai follow ye samyn trade conioinyng to falsheid oppin wickitnes. /

57. yer. And yat ȝe may se quhat meanys yai haue vsit yir lvij ȝeris bipast to set up be craft yis authoritie yat yai seik now be violence force and tressoun I will call to ȝour memory sum of yair practiȝis quhilk mony of ȝow may remembir als weill as I. /

Jacob. 4. Joēs dx. Alb: First eftir ye deid [34] of *King James ye fourt Johnne Duke of Albany* chosin be ye nobilitie to governe in ye kingis lesse aige The hamiltonis thinking yat he had bene als wickit as yai and sould to his awin avancement put doun ye king being of tendir aige for yat tyme and leif allane be ye deceis of his brother, and yat yai wald easelie get yr hand beȝond ye duke being ane strangeare and wtout successioun of his body Thay held yame quiet for ane seasoun weaning yat vther menis actioun sould be yr promotioun.

Bot seing yat ye Duke as a prince bayth wyis and vertuous to bring him self out of all sic suspitioun put four lordis of ye maist trew and famous of Scotland in yat tyme to attend on ye kingis grace *the erll of merschell*—the *lordis erskin ruthuen* and *borthuik* The *hamiltonis* being out of hoip of ye kingis putting doun be ye Duke of Albany and out of credeit to do him harme be yame selffis maid ane conspiracy wt certane lordis to put ye said Duke out of authoritie and tak it on yame selffis and all thingis put

1. Conspyracy of ye hamiltō. in yr power thay myt vse ye king and realme at yair awin plesr to yat effect yai tuke ye castell of Glasgow and maid yair ane assemblie of yair factioun The quhilk wes dissoluit be ye haistie cūming of ye Duke of Albany wt ane army / for feir of ye quhilk ye erll of arrane cheif of yat cumpany fled to his wyffis brother ye lord Hume being yan out of court

2. Cospy. of ye hā. The secund conspyracy wes eftir ye Dukis last departing ye

foirsaide lordis na mair attending on ye king It wes devysit be Sr *James* Hamiltoun bastard sone to ye said erll of arrane to slay ye king being in his hous besyde ye abbay of Halieruidhous. The quhilk conspiracy eftir mony ȝeris revelit the said *Sr James* sufferit deid for it— Sr Jamis Hamiltō.

This conspiracy not being execute Sr James ꝑseverit in his evill intentioun and be secreit meanis in Court socht alwayis yat ye king sould not marie and for laik of his successioun ye hamiltonis myt cum to yr intentioun. For ye king wes ȝoung abill of his ꝑsoun and reddy to aventure him self to all hazard bayt be sey and be land in doun putting of thevis and upsetting of justice. The Hamiltonis lukit ay quhen seiknes or sum vyer rekles aventure or excesse of travell sould cut him of wtout childrene.

And destitute of yis hoip first *Sr James* stoppit ye kingis meting wt his vncle *ye king of england* quha at yat tyme having bot ane dochter wes willing to haif mareit hir wt ye king of Scotland and to haif enterit him at yat present tyme in possessioun of ye Duchie of ȝork and eftir his deceis maid him king of ye haill yle Bot Sr James euir having ee to his awin scope hinderit yis purpose be sum of ye kingis familiar sruandis yat he had practisit be giftis and principally be ye bischope of sanctandrois *James betoun* vncle to ye Duke of chestellaraultis moder and greit vncle to Sr James wyff and rasit sic suspitionis betuix ye king and his vncle that brot bayt ye realmis in greit besines.—

This propose as said is put abak the king seing yat his ambassadors furtherit not at his plesure determinat to go be sey to france him self in ꝑsoun And Sr James Hamiltoun ꝑsevering in his formair intentioun went wt him to hinder his mariage in all maner yat he myt and to yat effect the king sleping in ye schip wtout ony necessitie nother constraint be wynd nor weddir / Sr James causit ye marinaris to turne saill of ye west coist of ingland bakwart and landit in galloway verie miscontent wt *Sr James* and maister *Dauid Paintar*[85] principall causaris of his returning As diuers yat wes in ye schip' ȝit leving can report. And fra that tyme furth ye king having tryit out Sr James pretens and ꝑsavit his unfaytfull dealing evir disfauourit him and to his greit Dis-

Erle of Lenox.

ples[er] fauourit opinlie *ye erll of lennox* and his freindis in his absence The quhilk erll pretendit ane ry[t] to ye haill lordschip of Arane the pñt erll for yat tyme being knawin to be bastard and als being in recent memory how S[r] James Hamiltoun had cruellie slane at linly[t]quow *Johnne erll of levenax*[36] to ye greit displesr of ye king and als of ye erll of Arane fader to S[r] James and vncle to ye said erll of Levanax cūmin be cōmandement of ye king to linly[t]quow

Sa ye king understanding as said is the prevat practise of S[r] James in keping him vnmareit haistit ye mair ernistlie to marie to yat effect yat successioun my[t] put ye hamiltonis out of hoip of y[r] intent and him out of ye dangeare of ye hamiltonis And howbeit S[r] James to mak him self clene of yat suspitioun socht mony diuers wayis to ye distructioun of his brother ye erll of arrane ȝit could he neuir conqueis ye kingis fauo[r] untill finalie he wes executit for treasoun and tuke ane miserabill end conforme to his vngodlie lyff[37]

The king at last deceissit and leving ane dochter of *sex dayis* auld the Hamiltonis tho[t] all to be thairs. For ye erll of arane an ȝoung man of small wit and greit inconstancy wes set furth be sum nobles of ye realme and sum of ye kingis familiar s[r]uandis for they tho[t] him mair tollerabill than ye cardinall Betoun quha be ane fals instrument[38] had taken ye suppreme authoritie to himself.

The Duke namyt gouernour be ane prevat factioun and fauourit be samony as professit ye trew religioun of chryst, becaus he wes belevit yan to be of ye samyn / howbeit he wes gentill of nature / ȝit his freindis for ye maist pt wer gredy bay[t] of geir and blude and gevin to injustice quhair gayne followit Thair wes in his tyme na thing bot weir oppressioun and brybing specialie of his callit brother *ye bischop* of Sanctandrois so yat all ye estates wer wery of him and dischargeit ye said gouernour of his office befoir ye tyme and chargeit w[t] it ane woman strangeare

In ye begyning of his government the quene and hir moder wer kepit be him rather lyke presonaris than princessis Bot ȝit yat incoñoditie wes cause of preserving of the quenis lyff he be-

leving to marie hir on his sone Bot fra ye erll of *Levenax* had deliuerit yame out of yat captiuitie and ye nobilitie had refusit to mary hir on his sone / howbeit he left his formair freindis and come to ye quene and for hir plesᵃʳ abjurit his religioun [39] in ye gray freris of sterling ȝit could he neuir cum agane to his cleaming of ye croun quhilk he had lang socht ꝑlie be fauour of sic of ye nobilitie as wer allyat wᵗ him partlie be distructioun of ancient houssᵉ yat myᵗ haif put impediment to his vnressonabill ambitoun.

To yat effect ye erll of levenax being put furth of ye realme he thoᵗ ye erll *of Angus* to be ye principall yat myᵗ resist him and having enterit in ward Sʳ George Dowglas to extinguishe the haill hous at anys he send for ye said erll on freindlie maner and put him in presoun as enemy wᵗout eny just occasioun and had behedit yame bayᵗ had not ye arryving of ye inglis army [40] stayit his purpose.

And seing yat he durst not put yame doun be tyranne he offerit yame and yair freindis to ye swerd of ye ennemy and eftir ye first charge of ye inglis hors men ressauit ye Dowglas reddy to ressaue ane vyer charge that yai myᵗ ye mair easelie be slane thay standing in battell and fechting to presᵉue ye Duke he in ye secund battell fled but strakis to tyne yame And sa yir nobill men safar as lay in him wer slane and presʳuit be ye prouidence of god.

The ȝoung quene being in hir motheris keping seing he myᵗ not put hir doun nor marie hir at his plesᵃʳ he consentit to offer [41] hir to ye stormes of ye sey and dangeare of ennemeis and sauld hir as ane sclave in france for ye duchie of chestellarault ye quhilk he broukis in name as ye croun of Scotland in fantasy and ressauit sic pryce for hir as tresoun and perjurie yat ye selling of fre ꝑsonis sould be recompensit wᵗ Bot ȝit ye covatise of the croun yat he had sauld ceissit not heir for afoir hir returning hame out of france at ye troubles yat began to represse ye insolence of frenchemen and tyranne agains ye religioun how mony meanis the hamiltonis socht to haif depriuit hir of all ryᵗ and translatit ye croun to yame selffis is knawin bayᵗ to ingland and scotland.

Als eftir ye arryving of ye quene in Scotland scho seking ane querrell agains ye said Duke and sum vyer lordis under pretens[e] yat yai had conspyrit agains hir for ye religioun the Dukis freinds left him all becaus ye rest of ye lordis wald no[t] consent to put doun ye quene or derogat hir of hir authoritie in ony maner.

And a lyttil befoir yat ye caus of his conspiracy w[t] ye erll of boithuile to slay ye erll of murray in falkland [42] wes na vther bot becaus yat ye said erll of murray leving thay could nowther do ye said quene harme in hir psoun nor diminishe hir authoritie nor constrayne hir to mary at yair ples[ur] and to hir vttir disples[ur]

Eftir yat ye quene had mareit w[t] yair auld ennemy and wes w[t] chyld the gude bischop of sanctandrois first callit *cunynghame* and estemit *coowane* and syne avowit *hamiltoun* not onelie conspirit w[t] ye erll boithuile ye kingis deid bot come w[t] ye quene to glasgow convoyit ye king to ye place of his murthour / ludgeit as he did seildom afoir quhair he my[t] psave ye ples[ur] of yat crueltie w[t] all his sensis and help ye murtheraris gif mister had bene and send four of his s[r]uandis to execute ye murthour and watchit all ye ny[t] thinking lang to haif ye joy of ye approcheing of ye croun [43] to y[r] hous[e] And sa greit hoip mellit w[t] ambitioun inflamit his hart for ye kingis deceis yat he w[t]in schort tyme belevit fermelie his callit brother to be king and he the said bischop to be to him as curatour and gouernour during all ye tyme of his nonwit quhilk had bene ane bettir terme nor Witsonday and m[r]times For he belevit yat ye erll boithuile sould distroy ye king and not suffer him to prosper to revenge his faderis deid and precede his bairnis in successioun of ye croun And the prince put doun ye bischop tho[t] easie to put doun ye quene and ye erll boithuile haitit alreddy of ye people and yat he my[t] easelie try ye conspiracie as being on ye counsall of it Or gif yai wald slay ye erll boithuille and spair ye quene Thay wer in hoip yat scho sould mary Johnne Hamiltoun ye Dukis sone quhome w[t] mery lukis and gentill contenance (as scho could weill do) scho enterit in ye gayme of ye glaiks [44] and causit ye rest of ye hamiltonis to fon for faynnes.[45]

Bot eftir yat ye erll boithuile had refusit battell at *carbarryhill* and ye quene come to ye lordis the hamiltonis fosterit yair vane hoip w^t^ ane mery dreame that being deliuerit of ye quene scho sould beir na ma childrene to debar yame fra ye croun and yat yai my^t^ haif ane reddie way to calumpniat ye regent for distroying of ye quene and sa to be deliuerit of all yair ennemeis at anys.

Bot seing yat ye quene wes kepit thay blamit opinlie ye regent yat reservit ye quene in stoir in dispyte of yame as yai said (schawand y^r^ wickit mynd to hir be unreverent langaige) to be ane stude to cast ma folis [46] And ȝit for all that nane of yame wald cum to ye ꝑliament to further yair des^sr^ w^t^ ane vote allanerlie bot lay abak to keip yame selffis in libertie to reprove all yat sould be done in yat conventioun~

And gif scho be ony way wer put to fredome yai my^t^ help hir to put doun ye lordis yat wald not put hir doun in fauour of yame~

This intentioun of thairs wes manifestlie schawin quhen ye quene being kepit in lochlevin be comandement of ye haill ꝑliament wes brocht out be conspiracy of sum prevat men and specialie be ye hamiltonis Thay assemblit all y^r^ forces to put doun ye ȝoung king and lordis obedient to him Thay schew yair evill will towart ye lordis in bringing w^t^ yame greit apparell of cordis to murther yame in maist vyle fassoun toward ye king in keping of ye watter of forth yat he sould not eschaip y^r^ cruell handis being assurit gif he come in ye quene of inglandis power yat of hir accustumat clemency and kyndnes of blude scho wald not abandoun him to y^r^ vnmercifull mercy experimentit alreddy in his fader~

And seing yat ye prouidence of god had closit ye dur to all yair wickitnes at thay tymes yai haif neuir ceissit sensyne to seik ennemeis to his grace in all strange nationis And ꝑsaving yat all vyer princes gaif yame fair wordis except ye quenis grace of ingland yat understude yair fals and tressonabill dealing than yai turnit yair hatrent agains hir and enterit in conspiracie w^t^ sum trato^rs^ of yat natioun [47] yat wer als evill myndit to ye quenis majestie

of ingland as yai wer to ye king of Scotland. This is nowther dreamit in ane wardrob nor hard throw ane boir bot ane trew narrative of quhilk the memory is logit in bay^t scottis and inglismenis hartis. Be ye quhilk and diuers vyeris conspiracies omittit for ye cause of breuite ȝe may understand ye hamiltonis pretens^s yis lvij ȝeris and mair⁀

Eftir samony wayis socht be yame to distroy ye ry^t successioun and plant yame selffis in yat rowme seing yat all yair practisis could not avale and yair forces wer not sufficient thay socht to augment yair factioun adjonyng to yame all yat wer pticipant of o^r kingis slauchter and had conspyrit ye quene of inglandis deid. And to ye effect yat yai my^t bettir cum to yair wickit purpose thay in ane maner displayit ane baner to assembill togidder all kynd of wickit men as papistes / renegat protestantis thevis tratouris and oppin oppresso^rs and murtheraris.

As to y^r adherentis in Scotland I neid not to expreme y^r names nor qualiteis of ye conspiratouris of ingland for yai are weill knawin to ȝo^r l: ȝit I can no^t overpasse w^t silence the cheif conspiratour chosin be yame to be king of Scotland I meane *ye Duke of Norffolk* in quhilk act ȝe may se thryst of ȝour blude blindit yame agains all y^r natioun for yai chesit ye principall ennemy of ye religioun of chryst in yis ile accumpaneit w^t filthie ydolataris the principall enemy of ye nobilitie of Scotland / as his bage beris witnes [48] / quha sould haif spilt ye rest of ye nobill blude of Scotland in peace / quhilk his foirbearis could no^t spill in weare / the principall ennemy to y^r house for euir under tyrantis yai yat hes nerrest clame to ye croun ar nearest to dangearis. ȝit ane thing wes yat my^t haif cõmouit yame in ane factioun qualiteis cõmoun to yame bay^t / as arrogance crueltie dissimulatioun and heretabill tressoun in bay^t ye houss^s [49] agains yair lauchfull princes ⁀

And ȝit for all this could yir men cuming to yair cruell intent be satisfiit be spoyling of ȝour geir as yai did quhen yai wer placeit in supreme authoritie / or be making of ȝow sclavis as yai did in selling of yair quene howbeit ye inhumanitie wer greit ȝit it wer not in supreme degre of crueltie. Bot it is na moderat nor tollerabill thing yat yai seik. It is ye blude first of ȝour innocent king

being in sic aige as hes bene presʳuit be wyld beistis nixt ye blude of all his trew sʳuandis and subjectis indifferentlie.

For quhat defence can be in nobilitie or authoritie agains yame yat hes murtherit ane king and sekis strangearis to murthour ane vther quhome sall thay spair for vertew or innocency yat laitlie murtherit ye regent and ȝit kepis ye murtherare in yʳ cumpany or quha wilbe owersene for law degre or basse estait be yame yat fetcheit men out of teviot daill to fyff to slay master Johnne Wod[50] for na vyer cause bot for being ane gude sʳuand to ye croun and yat he had espyit out sum of yair practisis ∽

Gif yis unsaciabill thrist of blude myᵗ be imputit to hasty anger or ony suddane motioun yat causis men sumtyme to-forȝet yʳ dewtie yair myᵗ be sum hoip yat sic ane passioun overpassit yai wald wᵗ tyme remembir yame selffis and eftir yair power amend faltis bipast or at ye leist abstene in tyme to cum Bot yair is na sic humanitie in yair nature nor pitie in yair hartis for not content wᵗ ane kingis blude thay gaip for his sonnis murthour not satisfiit to haif slane ye regent thay keip ye murtherare sum tyme in yair cumpany[51] sumtyme in ye Dukis hous in Arrane maist lyke as thinking gif yai honourit not ye doar yai sould not be knawin as counsallouris of ye deid and wald tyne ye gloir of yat nobill act And ȝit wᵗ all this thay ar not content onelie to manteine scottis tratouris bot als yai ressave inglis tratouris and settis up ane sanctuary of tressoun ane refuge of ydolatre and receptacle of thevis and murtheraris ∽

And albeit ye blude of kingis and regentis about yʳ hartis ay wirking the lust of fresche blude in yʳ appetytis gevis yame littill rest bot rather makis dalie and hourlie new prouocatioun the lytill space of rest yat crueltie gevis yame thay spend in devysing of generall inquietnes throw ye haill realme And not content of it yat yame selffis may still reif and brybe thay set out yʳ ratches[52] on euery syde one of yame ye clan chattan and grantis ane vyer clangregour ane vyer bukclewch and fairnyhirst ane vyer Johnnestonis and armistrangis ∽ And thay yat wald seame haliest amangis yame schew planelie ye affectioun yat yai had to banneis peace and steir up troubles quhen yai bendit all yair fyve wittis to stop ye

regent to gang first north and syne sowth to puneis thift and oppressioun. And quhen yai saw yair counsall wes not authorisit in geving impunitie to disordour thay spendit it in putting doun of him yat wald haif put all in gude ordour ⁓

Thair is ane kynd of yair thevis evin odious to mair gentill thevis quhilk spoylis trauellaris cadgearis and chepmen be ye way and ransoms puyr men about glasgow for xx s be heade This vyce can not proceid of vengeance bot rather of lust and plesᵃʳ in wickitnes This kynd of men dois not onelie dishonour to nobilitie in stealing and to thevis in purspyking bot als to ye haill natioun of Scotland geving opinioun to strangearis that ye scottis be of sa law courage yat men amangis yame dar aspyre to the hieast estait of kingdome yet hes rankit yame selffis in ye lawest ordour of knaves ⁓

Now my lordis ȝe may considder how yai yat slayis sa cruellie kingis and yair lieutenentis wilbe mercifull to ȝow And quhen yai sa haif put ȝow doun yat cravis ye vengeance of ye kingis blude how few dar crave justice of ȝour slauchter / ȝe may se how cruell yai wilbe in oppressioun of ye puyr having cuttit of ȝow quhilk being of maist nobill and potent houss of yis realme sufferis euerie pt of yis cuntre to be war nor ye out Ilis and not onelie yir purspykaris of cliddis dale to exercise thift and reif as ane craft bot fosters and autorises amangis ȝow ye cheif counsaloris of all misordour as ane edder in ȝour bosum /

Of all this ȝe can lay ye wyte on na man vther bot ȝour selffis that hes sufficient power to represse yʳ insolency and proudnes having in ȝour hand the samyn wand yat ȝe chastysit yame wᵗ afoir. For ȝe haif ȝour protectour ye samyn god yis ȝeir yat wes ye ȝeir bipast. ȝe haif ȝour trew freindis and subjectis yat wer wᵗ ȝow afoir. ȝe ar deliuerit of dissimulat brethrene yat had yʳ bodies wᵗ ȝow and hartis wᵗ ȝour enemeis / that subscriuit wᵗ ȝow and tuke remissioun of ȝoʳ aduersaries that stude wᵗ ȝow in battell louking for occasioun to betray ȝow had not God bene ȝour protectour ȝe haif ane greit nowmer of new freindis alienat frome thame for yʳ manifest iniquitie in deid / doubilness in word and tressoun in hart. ȝe haif of ye samyn

ennemeis yat ȝe had yan samony as hes y^{r} hartis indurit / and yair mynd bent agains god and lauchfull magistrattis : ȝe haif ye samyn actioun yat ȝe . . . had yan accumulat w^{t} recent murtho^{r} and tressoun to provoke ye yre of god agains yame and howfar he hes blindit yame blind men may se That having sa evill ane actioun and sa mony ennemeis at hayme ȝit be hunding out of small tratouris of y^{r} wickit conspiracy evin men execrabill to y^{r} parentis quhilk amangis vtheris thay haif spoylit be hunding out I say of sic ꝑsonis yai haif provoked the quenis grace of ingland to seik vengeance of yair untrewth anentis hir ⁓

The quhilk vengeance justice and honour craivis of hir sa instantlie that scho can not chese bot to ꝑsew yame untill scho gif exempill unto vtheris that gif yai will not respect vertew ȝit for feir of punitioun yai salbe content to leif in peace w^{t} y^{r} ny^{t}bouris. Quhairin scho hes als renewit the memorie of hir experimentit liberalitie and tendir luif to yis natioun seking on hir propir chargeis and travell of hir subjectis the punitioun of sic as we on o^{r} chargeis sould haif punissit I meane not onelie of o^{r} tratouris bot als of ressettaris of hir tratouris And doing yis scho sekis pacificatioun amangis yame yat violat peace w^{t}out prouocatioun and severis fra ye saikles in punissing / sic ar gilty in offenceing And as scho kepis peace and justice amangis hir subjectis in ingland / offeris on being requirit support to ye samyn in scotland. And prevenis ye wicked consellis of sic as provokis inglismen and solistis frensche men to cum in yis realme to that fyne yat yir twa nationis enterit in barres ye ane agains ye vther Thay may saciat yair cruell hartis of blude yair obstinat will of vengeance thair botumles couatise of spoyle and thift. /

Thairfoir seing yat god hes swa blindit ȝour ennemeis wittis my lordis be in gude hoip yat he sall als cast the spreit of feir and disparatioun in yair indurit hartis and prosper ȝour gude actioun to ye quhilk he confortis w^{t} his reddy help exhortis ȝow be his word and constranis ȝow be ye devoir of ȝour estait and necessitie of pres^{r}uing of ȝour lyff and honour ⁓

For promeis being neglectit ayth violat subscriptioun set at nocht yair is na mid way left bot owther to do or suffer / And

seing yat bayt ar miserabill amang sic as sould be freinds ȝit better it is to slay justlie nor be slayne wranguslie. for ye executioun of justice in punissing the wickit is apprevit be god and man and sleuthfulnes in defence of justice can not be excusit of tressoun.

And besyde yat god schawis him self sa mercyfull and liberall to ȝow in sending ȝow freindis be procuring of ȝour ennemeis als ye ꝑsonis maist recom̃endit of god cravis ye samyn / for saikles blude oppressioun of ye puyr and ye fatherles cryis continewalie to ye hevin for ane vengeance. the quhilk god com̃ittis to ȝour handis as to his lieutenentis and speciall officiaris in yat part And evin as he rewardis fayth and diligence in obedience of his eternall will sa he will not neglect sleuthfull negligens in executioun of his com̃andiment

Thairfoir my lordis as ȝe wald yat god sould remember on ȝow and on ȝour posteritie quhen yai sall call on him in yr necessitie remembir on ȝour king and on my lord regentis pupillis [53] com̃ittit to ȝow in tutele be ye devoir of ȝour office anentis ꝑsonis yat ar not in power nor aige to help yame selffis and ar recom̃endit speciallie to all cristianis be god in his haly scripturis. Defend sic innocent creaturis as dependis onelie under god upoun ȝor mercy and humanitie fra ye crueltie of unmercifull wolffis and neglect not ye occasioun nor refuse not ye help send to ȝow be god bot recognosce thankfullie his fauour towardis ȝow that causis ȝour ennemeis to procure ȝow help. Neglect not ye offer of freindis in dreid gif ȝe lat slip yis occasioun ȝe sall crave it in vane in ȝor necessitie Think it na les providence of ȝour hevinlie fader than gif he had send ȝow ane legioun of angellis to ȝour defence And remember yat he schew him self neuir mair freindfull and succurabill to na people yan he hes done to ȝow and traist weill gif ȝe will ꝑseveir in obedience and recognosce his manifold graces he will multiply his benefites to ȝow and ȝour posteritie and sall neuir leave ȝow untill ȝe forȝet him first. /

CHAMÆLEON,

WRITTEN BY MR GEORGE BUCHANAN AGAINST THE LAIRD OF LIDINGTONE.

[THE 'Chamæleon' had its origin in the same set of circumstances as the 'Admonitioun'—the anarchy begotten of the internecine strife between the king's and the queen's parties. In the 'Admonitioun' Buchanan has set himself to show that the family of Hamilton was a standing danger to the wellbeing of the country. The 'Chamæleon' is directed against Maitland of Lethington, whose policy since the fall of Mary had been steadily, though stealthily, directed against the party to which Buchanan belonged. In Buchanan's view of the best interests of the country, Maitland's conduct was utterly inexplicable, save on the supposition of sheer factiousness or shameless love of intrigue. It was owing to him more than any one else that Mary's party still made head in Scotland, and thus prevented a firm government from being set up, which, working in union with England, should present a common front against the great Catholic powers of Europe. In this belief, and under the conviction that Maitland was privy to the plot for the assassination of Moray, he wrote the 'Chamæleon,' and drew a portrait of Lethington with just that amount of truth and caricature which would make him at once odious and ridiculous in the eyes of his countrymen. Lethington's career certainly lends itself easily enough to such treatment. At one time or other

he had worked in concert with all the leading persons in the country, and his contemporaries are hardly to be blamed if they failed to discover in his tortuous policy the unwavering purpose of the true patriot and great statesman. The pamphlet is a satire, yet it expresses Buchanan's serious judgment on the character and career of Lethington. In his History, Buchanan, like Knox, speaks favourably of Maitland's early promise; but like Knox also, he came to regard him as the most sinister figure of his day in Scotland.* In the nineteenth book of his History, written several years after the 'Chamæleon,' Buchanan deliberately repeated the most serious charges brought against Maitland in that pamphlet. The 'Chamæleon,' therefore, like the 'Admonitioun,' is not to be regarded as a mere pasquinade, but as the humorous presentment of that interpretation of Maitland which appeared most natural to men of such diverse types as Buchanan and Knox, and to the party in the nation which they represented.

The 'Chamæleon' was only one amongst many similar attacks on Maitland by the pamphleteers who supported the party of the young king against his mother. Thus we have a ballad entitled "The Cruikit leidis the Blinde," a satire on Maitland's influence

* Knox speaks thus favourably of Maitland in 1559: "Few dayis befoir oure first defait, which was upon Alhallow Evin, Williame Maitland of Lethington younger, Secreattar to the Quene (Mary of Lorraine), perceaving him self not onlye to be suspected as one that favored our parte, bot also to stand in danger of his lyiff, yf he should remane amangis sa ungodlie a cumpany; for quhensoevir materis came in questioun, he spaired not to speik his conscience; whiche libertie of toung, and gravitie of judgement, the Frenche did heyghlie disdaine."—Laing, 'Works of Knox,' vol. i. p. 463. On the other hand, at a later date, Knox does not scruple more than once to call him "the author of all the mischief" that had ensued since Mary's return from France—Laing's 'Knox,' vol. ii. pp. 459, 460. In the following sentence we have Buchanan's opinion of Maitland's talents and early promise. The sentence refers to the period immediately subsequent to Mary's arrival in Scotland. "Consilio in primis utebatur" (he is speaking of Moray) "Gulielmi Mætellani, adolescentis summo ingenio, quique magna jam dederat præclaræ indolis experimenta, magnamque in posterum expectationem concitarat."—'Rerum Scoticarum Historia,' p. 333 (edit. Rudd.) Elsewhere he also calls him "juvenis summo ingenio et eruditione"—ib., p. 321. These are Buchanan's only direct commendations of Maitland. It will be seen that he does not commit himself so far as Knox with regard to his personal character.

over the lords who favoured Mary; and another, "The Bird in the Cage,"* a nickname, as we learn from Richard Bannatyne's use of it, which must have been generally applied to Maitland. In truth, from all the literature of the period,—letters, ballads, and serious histories,—we gain the same impression of the mingled wonder, hatred, contempt, and vague uneasiness with which Lethington inspired his countrymen. The name "Mitchell Wylie"† which they applied to him expresses the instinct by which they saw in him a type essentially distinct from anything with which they were familiar in Scotland.

The 'Chamæleon,' like the 'Admonitioun,' was written in 1570,‡ though much later in the year. From the references to Maitland's doings "in Dunkeld, in Athol, in Strathbogie, in Braidalbane, and elles quhair," we gather that it could not have been out of Buchanan's hands till the beginning of 1571 (present reckoning); and an interesting passage in Richard Bannatyne's 'Memoriales' proves that it was not sent to the press till the April of that year: "This nycht (14th of April) at ewin, about xj houris, captane Meluine comes vnto Robert Lekprevickis hous, and focht him (as he had done twyfe of befoir), and louket all the hous for the Camelione, which the Secretar fearit that he had prentit; bot he, beand wairned befoir, escapit, and went out of his hous with sic thingis as he feared sould have hurt him, gif thai had bein gottin."§

Maitland had certainly excellent reason for alarm at the prospect of being made the butt of Buchanan's sarcasms. He must have known Buchanan's fame as one of the most formidable satirists of the age; and as he was himself a scholar, he must have read Buchanan's epigrams and the notorious "Franciscanus," one of the most brilliant pasquinades ever written against the ancient

* These ballads are mentioned in Thorpe, 'Calendar of State Papers' (Scotland).

† There was a double play in the name. It was a corruption of *Machiavelli*, with the additional sting implied in the term *Wylie* (wily).

‡ This is the date of the MS. in the Cotton Library, on which all the texts of the 'Chamæleon' are based.

§ Richard Bannatyne, 'Memoriales,' p. 110 (Ban. Club edit.)

Church. Moreover, what Buchanan might write would not, like the other broadsheets which issued from the press of Lekprevik, be the mere birth of a day. It would be read beyond the bounds of Scotland, might possibly be turned into Latin as the work of one of the most famous scholars of his day, and posterity would see him in whatever guise Buchanan's wit might choose to present him. We can understand Maitland's eagerness, therefore, to prevent the 'Chamæleon' from seeing the light. His interference with Lekprevik so far served its object that the pamphlet actually remained in manuscript till 1710. Few of his contemporaries, therefore, would have the opportunity of laughing over a picture of him, of which even his temporary allies would recognise the essential likeness. Unfortunately for Maitland's subsequent reputation, however, Camden had seen the 'Chamæleon,' and indicates its purport in his 'Annals';* and as Buchanan reiterates his charges in his own 'History,' Maitland had the double ill-luck of presenting the same lineaments alike to English and Scottish historians who followed Camden and Buchanan.

Editions of the 'Chamæleon.'

1. The 'Chamæleon' appears to have been first printed in the 'Miscellanea Antiqua' (London, 1710). It forms the third piece in the collection, and is entitled "The Chamæleon, or Crafty Statesman, in a Character of Mr Maitland of Lethington, Secretary of Scotland": by Mr George Buchanan.

The editor does not state what text he followed. Though his own text, however, is completely anglicised, he in all probability followed the MS. in the Cotton Library.

2. Ruddiman, 'Buchanani Opera' (Edin. 1715). As there were

* "Lidingtonius Letham missus, vi morbi, nec sine suspicione veneni expiravit, vir inter Scotos maximo rerum usu, et ingenio splendidissimo, si minus versatili: quo nomine G. Buchananus æmulus eum viventem scripto quodam, cui 'Chamæleon' titulum fecit, ut chamæleonte mutabiliorem depinxit, nec non ut Regis aviæ, matri, Moravio, ipsique Regi et patriæ hostem versicolorem acerrime perstrinxit."—'Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha,' Part II., ad annum 1573.

no "prudential considerations" to restrain Ruddiman from printing the 'Chamæleon,' it appears in all the copies of his edition of 'Buchanan.' Of his text of the 'Chamæleon' he says: "We have followed that copy in the Cotton Library, as we find it transcribed by the ingenious Mr David Crauford of Drumsoy, late Historiographer for Scotland, in the valuable Collections he gave to the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh; and have rather chosen to preserve the obsolete words and old way of spelling than to change either, as has been lately done in an edition of it printed at London, *anno* 1710;* being persuaded that though these alterations might make it more agreeable to modern ears, yet the more curious will be better pleased to see it in the very same dress in which it came from the author."

In spite of what Ruddiman here says, he has (following Crawford's transcription) in some points deviated from the spelling of the original MS. In certain cases, though not frequently, he gives modern spellings instead of those of the Cotton MS.; and here and there he has words which have been erroneously copied.

3. Burmann, 'Buchanani Opera' (Lugd. Bat., 1725). Burmann printed the 'Chamæleon' along with the other works of Buchanan, simply reproducing the text of Ruddiman.

4. "Chamæleon redivivus: or Nathaniel's character revers'd." A satire written by Mr George Buchanan against the Laird of Lidingtone. Extracted formerly from the Manuscript in the Cotton Library, and afterwards printed at London, Edinburgh, and Leiden; now carefully reprinted, and most humbly inscribed to a learned C——k of T—— C—— of E——. Printed in the year MDCCXLI.

From the ironical dedication to this edition, it would seem that the editor was a minister of the Church of Scotland who had been unsuccessful in an application to the Court of Teinds, and sought his revenge on the Clerk of the Court by the suggestion of a parallel between him and Buchanan's 'Chamæleon.'

The text is that of Ruddiman.

5. Irving, 'Memoirs of Buchanan' (edit. 1817), Appendix II.

* Ruddiman refers to the edition in the 'Miscellanea Antiqua' above specified.

Irving states that he reprinted the 'Chamæleon' from Ruddiman.

6. 'Miscellanea Scotica,' vol. ii. (Glasgow, 1818). "Chamæleon," written by Mr George Buchanan against the Laird of Ledingtone; from the manuscript in the Cotton Library.

Though the title indicates that this edition was printed from the MS. in the Cotton Library, this is not the case, as its text is simply that of Ruddiman.

7. 'The Works of Mr George Buchanan in the Scottish Language,' containing the Chamæleon; a satire against the Laird of Lidingtone, and Ane Admonitioun to the trew Lords maintainars of Justice and Obedience to the King's Grace (Edinburgh: printed and published by David Webster, Horse Wynd, 1823).

Webster's text is that of Ruddiman.

In the present reproduction of the 'Chamæleon,' the text of Ruddiman was first copied, and afterwards collated with the Cotton MS., which, as our sole authority, has in every case been followed. The MS. in the Advocates' Library, as Ruddiman informs us, is simply a transcription of the Cotton MS. made by David Crawford.]

CAMELION, WRYTTEN BY MR. GEORGE BOUCANAN MENTE OF THE LARDE OF LIDDINGTON, SECRETARIE OF SCOTLANDE.*

Thair is a certane kynd of beist callit chamæleon, engend[erit in] sic cuntreis as ye sone hes mair strenth in yan in this yle of Brettane the quhilk albeit it be small of corporance noghtyeless it is of ane strange nature the quhilk makis it to be na les celebrat and spoken of than sum beastis of greittar quantitie. The proprietie is marvalous for quhat thing euir it be applicat to it semis to be of the samyn cullour and imitatis all hewis except onelie the quhyte and reid and for y[is caus] ancient writtaris commounlie comparis it to ane flatterare quhilk [imitatis] all ye haill

* Cotton MSS., Caligula, c. iii. f. 274. Endorsed as above.

maneris of quhome he fenȝeis him self to be freind to [except] quhyte quhilk is takin to be ye symboll and tokin gevin commounlie in diuise of colouris to signifie sempilnes and loyaltie and reid signifying manli[nes] and heroyicall courage. This applicatioun being so usit ȝit perad[venture] mony that hes nowther sene ye said beist, nor na perfyte protraict of it [wald] beleif sic thing not to be trew. I will yᵗfore set furth schortlie ye [descrip]-tioun of sic ane monsture not lang ago engendrit in Scotland in ye cuntre of Lowthiane not far frome Hadingtoun, to yat effect yat ye forme knawin, the moist pestiferus nature of ye said monsture may be moir easelie evitit: for yis monstre being vnder coverture [of a] mānis figure, may easeliar endommage and wersid be eschapit than gif it wer moir deforme and strange of face, behaviour, schap and memberis. Praying ye reidar to apardoun the febilnes of my waike spreit and engyne, gif it can not expreme perfytelie ane strange [creature] maid be nature, other willing to schaw hir greit strenth or be [sum] accident turnit be force frome ye commoun trade and course. This monstre being engendrit vnder ye figure of a man chyld first h[ad] ane proprietie of nature, flattering all manis Ee* and sensis yat beheld it, so yat ye commoun peiple wes in gude hoip of greit vertu[s] to prosper with ye tyme in it; other ferdar seing of greit harme[s] and dampnage to cum to all yat sould be familiarlie acquentit wi[th it]. This monsture promovit to sic maturitie of aige as it could easelie flatter and imitat euery manis countenance, speche and fassoun, and subtill to draw out ye secreittis of euery mānis mynd, and depravat the counsellis to his awin propir gayne enterit in ye court of Scotland ye . . . and having espyit out not onelie factiouns bot singular personis, addressit the self in ye begȳning to James ef[ter] erll of Murray, and Gilbert yan erll of Cassillis men excellent in the tyme, in all vertuus perteining to ane nobill man and speciall in lufe of the commoun welth of yair cuntre: and seing yat his nature could not bow to imitat in veritie but onelie to contrafat fenȝeitlie ye gudnes of yir two personis, nor ȝit change yame to his nature thocht expedient to leane to yame for a tyme, and

* The capital letter appears in the MS.

clym up be yair branches to hiear degre, as ye wod bind clymeth on ye oik and syne with tyme distroyis ye tre yat it wes supportit be. So he having cum to sum estimatioun throw hanting of yir nobill lordis (quha wer yan estemit of euery man as yair vertuus meritit) wes sone be gud report of yame and ane ȝeȝeit gudnes in him self put in credeit with ye quene regent, verelie ane nobill lady and of greit prudence[54] bot ȝit could not espy ye gilt vyces vnder cullour of vertew hid in ye said monster, specialie being clokit be fauour of ye two foirsaid lordis, in quhais company hir g[race] wald neuir have belevit yat sic ane pestilent venū could haue bene hyd. The first experience the said quene had of him wes in sending him to France for certane bissines occurrent for ye tyme quhair he did his commissioun sa weill to his awin intention, and sa far frome ye quenis mynd, that he dissauit ye cardinall of Lorayne quha ontill yat day thocht him self not onelie auld practicien bot als maister ȝea doctour subtilis in sic materis of negociatioun. His fals dealing being sone persavit and he greitlie hatit ȝit scho being ane lady of greit prudence could not defend hir self from subtilltie, bot within schort tyme be meanis of sic as belevit him to be yair freind he crap in credence agane be ane other dur, and vnder ane other cullour bot ȝit could not so weill as he wald invent new falshead because of ye auld suspitioun and being of auld suspectit sone persavit, and in dangerie to be taken reid hand and puneist efter his meritis he fled out of Leyth and coverit himself with ye cloik of religioun sa lang as it could serue bot neuir sa closse bot he keepit ane refuge to sum sanctuarie of ye Papistis, gif ye court had changeit as to ye bischoppis of Sanctandrois and Glasgow, and vyeris diuerse quhais caussis wer in his protectioun and yairfoir ye haly Doctour Cranstoun[55] depertit to him largelie of ye spoyle of Sanct Saluatouris College, and wes manteinit be Chamæleon aganis all law and ressoun; besyde yat he wes ane man contaminat in all kynd of vycis. How far afoir ye cuming hame of ye quene ye kingis moder he wes contrary to all hir actiouns and fauourabill to hir aduersaries and inclynit to hir depriuatioun, it is notourlie knawin bayth in Ingland and Scotland to sic as mellit yan with ye affairis of ye estait in bayth

ye realmis. Efter ye quenis cuming hame he enterit schortlie (be changeing of cullouris and turning out ye other syde of his cloik) and halding him be ye branches of ye erll of Murray and for ane tyme applying him to ye quenis G. heir, that he allone wes hard in all secreit materis casting of lytill and lytill ye erle of Murray, and thinking yat he wes strang enewch to stand by himself, on leaning to ye [erle] of Murray. And because ye erll of Murray plesit not mony [interprysis] of mariage than attemptit, as with ye princes of Spayne, with ye d[uke] of Anjow, with ye empriouris brother, the said Chamæleon applyit himself to all yir parteis, and changeing hew as the quene sweyit ye ballance of hir mynd and followit ye appetyte of hir lust. And [at lang] the quene be avyis of hir oncles, devysit to destroy ye erl of Mu[rray][56] thinking him to be ane greit brydill to refrane hir appetitis, and [impediment] to leif at libertie of hir plessure; not yat euir he usit ony violence anentis hir, bot yat his honestie wes sa greit that scho wes esch[amit] to attempt ony thing indecent in his presence. Scho yan being deliberat to distroy him be ye erll of Huntlie, went to the nor[th] and he in hir cumpany; and howbeit ye tressoun was oppynnit [planelie], and Johnne Gordoun lying not far of ye town (Aberdeen) with a greit power, and ye erl of Murray expresslie ludgeit in ane hous separate fra all uyer habitatioun and his deid be diuerse wayis socht; this Chamæleon quhether of sempilnes or for layk of foirsicht or for bauldnes of courage, I refer to euery manis conscience [that] doith knaw him he alone could se no tressoun, could feare no d[angear], and wald neuir beleif yat ye erll of Huntlie wald take on hand sic ane interpryis: howbeit yair wes gevin aduertisement of it [out] of Ingland and France, l[ette]res taken declarand it and ye mater manif[est] befoir 'all mēnis Ene. It wer to lang to reherse and not verie ne[cessar] for ye p[rese]nt, it being knawin to sa mony quhat diverse purposis wer tane, quhat dangearis eschapit all ye tyme of yat voyage, ontill the quene come to Aberdene agane and how miraculous wes ye victorie: bot ane thing is not to be pretermittit, that ye said Chamæleon wes ane of ye reddiest to gnaw ye bainis of ye deed, to spoyle ye qwyk and mak his proffeit at

yat marcat. Efter this the oursey trafficque of mariage growing cauld, the said Chamæleon going in Ingland, delt sa betuix ye Protestantis and Papistes that he changeit dailie colouris sumtyme flattering ye ane, sumtyme ye other, and making euery ane of yame beleif that he laubourit onelie for yame; and amangis other thingis be ane prevy intelligence with ye quene and verie few of ye nobilitie, practiz[it] ye mariage of ye quene and Henry Lord Dernlie, of ye quhilk he maid neuir ye erll of Murray prevy, vntill all wes endit. Howbeit ye erll of Murray did neuir thinge nor tuke neuir propose without his advise and counsale. Heir ye mater quhilk he had raschel[ie] brocht on, wes neir ye poynt. Seing yat ye quene of Ingland disagreit with it for certane respectis, and ye lordis of Scotland for ye caus of ye religioun. To ye manteinance of ye quhilk thay desyrit ane promeis of ye quene and ye said Lord Dernlie. The Chamæleon in secreit flatterit ye quene and opinlie tuke the colour of ye religioun and at ye lang (seing my lord of Murray for being precise and plane in all doingis cast out of court) cled himself onelie in ye quenis colouris vntill yat Dauid prevalit aganis him and had in a maner ye haill credeit of all wechtie materis. At yis poynt thinking him self in werse caise yan he belevit, socht to mak ane other change of court, and set vp new play agane, awaytit on the court sumpart disgracit, louking for sum new cullour to apply him self to. In yis mene tyme ye quene seking to move sum thing in ye religioun, maid ane qwerrell aganis certane lordis of the principallis of Scotland, the quhilkis, albeit yat ane ressonabill power faillit yame not, and yat ye fauour of ye cuntre wes for yame, ȝit to schaw yair innocency quhen yai could not brek ye quenis obstinat mynd of yair distructioun be prayer and sollicitacioun of freindis thay left ye cuntre and went in Ingland, ȝit Chamæleon hêld ye small grip yat he had in court secunding to Dauid. In yis menetyme ye parliament set to forfalt sic lordis as had fled in Ingland, except ye duke quha did be intercessioun of siluer by his remissioun fra Dauid. The rest of ye lordis quhilk were of wisdome or estimatioun, partlie requirit be ye king quha wes in na credeit in respect of Dauid, partlie for yair awin libertie conspyrit ye deid of ye said

Dauid, and executit the same. Chamæleon cheifest ennemy to Dauid eftir the kingis grace, ȝit not being advertisit be the lordis of yair interpryise and suspectit of the quene, knawing his dowbilnes, quhyther for verie feare or preparing ane entre to ye quenis fauour, fled as vtheris did: and eftir lang fetchis brocht agane to ye court, kest clene fra him all colouris of ye kingis and cled him agane in ye quenis colouris, and wes ane of ye principal instrumentis that nurissit dissensioun betuix hir and ye king: the quhilk practize howbeit he wald haue dissimulatit, sum tyme brak out with him; as to ane nobill woman praying God to gif ye king and ye quene grace to aggre, he answerit, God let yame neuir aggre: ffor yay leving in dissensioun, he thocht yat his dowbilnes could not be espyit out. And yan seing ye Erll Bothuile cum in credeit he flatterit him and evin as yai aggreit in all poyntis to put doun ye king, seing yat he prospering yai could haue na lyff, sa eftir ye king deid, the Erll Boithuile, having in yat practize knawin his falset, and fearing his inconstancy and desyring to be deliuerit of sic an witnes socht his deid: and he having na refuge in ye quene for ye samyn cause tuke for a [tyme] ye erll of Mortonis colouris and being borne furth be him ag[ains] . . . ye erll boithuiles power and hatrent sa lang as he wes in fear . . . vnder ye erll of Mortonis wingis and ye feir past schew him[self] ye said erllis ennemy and having no sufficient caus, nor appe[arand] indice of separatioun of cumpany and kyndnes he fenȝeit yat ye [said] erll of Mortoun had conspyrit his deid, to be execute be sum of ye erllis freindis and to prove ye said conspiracy allegit ane fam[ous] witnes (maiorem omni exceptione) the nobill and vertuus Lady Gy[ltoun].[57] Now to returne agane to our propose efter ye deid of ye kin[g] devysit be him executit be ye erll Boithuile, for feir of ye sa[id] erll he lurkit a quhile out of court vntill ye tyme ye quene at Carberrie [Hill] come to ye lordis, and ye Erll Boithuile, fled to Dunbar. Than [he] come to parliament and with sum otheris participant of the kingis sl[aughter] wald haif had ye quene slane be act of parliament; and not finding mony consenting yairto and specialie ye erll of Murray yan c[hosen] regent being in ye contrair, he sollicitat some previe men [to] gar hang hir on

hir bed with hir awin belt, that be yat way he and his partinaris in ye kingis murthour mycht be deliuerit of an witnesse; knawing weill ye quenis nature, yat quhen sho wes misscontent of ony man scho wald tell all sic secreittis as scho [did] knaw of him. This propose not proceeding as he desyrit, he t[urnit] him first in flattering with ye quene and send to hir being in Lo[ch]levin, ane picture of ye deliuerance of ye lyoun by ye mouse; and nixt turnit his haill wit to ye distruction of ye erll of Murray thinking yat ye wickit could not proffeit greitlie so iust a man having ye supreme power and als seing yat ye quenis craftines wes abill at ye lang to ouerthraw ye erll of Murrays sempilnes. So he bendit all his wittis to ye said erllis eversioun and ye quenis restitutioun and procedit in yis caise, partlie be making ane factioun of ye counsalleris, and partakeris of ye kingis murthoure of men lycht of fantase and covatous of geir partlie be corrupting of my lord of Murrayis freindis and seruandis and travellit principallie with ye laird of Grange, thinking yat it sould be ane greit strenth to ye factioun to haue ye castell of Edinburgh at yair command. The regent being diuers tymes aduertisit of yir practizis wes of so upricht nature yat he wald beleif na thing of ony yat he had takin in freindschip, quhilk he wald not haif done him self; and als mony of ye factioun in ye begȳning thocht it had bene bot ane ligue defensive aganis ye power of ye greate, that is accustumat to ouerthraw the small in tyme of troubill.

In yis menetyme come ye deliuerance of ye quene out of Lochlevin, the quhilk he wes not ignorant of, and specialie be ye meanis of his cousing Johnne Hamiltoun of ye Cochuoch (al. Coheugh): ȝit he tareit with ye regent to keip ane cullour of honestie and yat with ye quenis consent quha had gevin him and diuerse otheris yat wer in my lord of Murrayis cumpany fre remissioun for all bipast.

Bot ye battele chansing vyerwaȳis yan he desyrit and belevit ȝit he persistit in his propose to distroy ye regent not opinlie bot be secreit meanis as being sent diuerse tymes to commoun with ye Lord Flemyng euir did ye contrair of ye propose yat he wes send for and euir tendit to hald ye cuntre in vnquietnes; and in

all assembleis for appointment, tendit to haue all bipast remittit to keip ay thevis and revaris in courage and to abase ye hartis of trew subiectis yat sould haif na hoip of redresse of wrangis done to yame be ye kingis rebellis. Eftir yat be ye diligence and wisdome of ye regent the cuntre wes brocht to sum stay, and iustice lyke to haif ye over hand, the kingis rebellis purchessit at ye quene of Inglandis handis yat scho sould considder ye greit wrangis [as yai said] done to hir nixt nychtbour, being nixt of blude to hir, and other be hir requeist or puissance caus hir be restorit agane to her former authoritie. The quenis maiestie of Ingland having ȝit no les regaird to iustice nor to consanguinitie, desyrit sum of ye principallis of ye nobilitie to repair to hir or hir deputtis for thir requeistis and complayntis; and my lord deliberat to go in persoun[58] wes in doubt, having ellis enterit in sum suspicions of yis Chamæleon quhethir he sould tak him with him self, or leif him beheind: for taking him he doubtit not bot he wald hinder ye actioun in all maner possibill, and leaving him behind that following his naturall complexioun he wald troubill ye cuntre, in sic maner yat it sould not be easelie in long tyme brocht to rest agane. At lang having deliberat to take him with him, and perswadit him bayth be giftis of landis and money, he fand to be trew in deid all yat he suspectit afoir; ffor euery nycht in a maner he co[mmun]icat all yat wes amangis vs with sum of our aduersaries and armit yame sa far as he could agane ye said regent. Bot ye force of ye ressonis and cleirnes of ye haill deductioun of ye caus yat my lord regent vsit, wes sa perswasive to ye auditouris yat be Chamæleonis aduertisement the kingis mother dischargeit hir commiss[ioune]rs to proceid forther and differrit to ane mair commodious tyme for hir: ffor it wes weill knawin to hir yat ye quenis maiestie of Ingland and hir counsall had allowit ye said regentis procedingis; and ye ambassadour of Spayne seing ye horribill cryme sa abhominabill to all honest men refusit to speik ane word in ye mater, and ye Frensche ambas[sadour] excusit him self that he spak be command of [his] maister.

In yis menetyme[59] the said Chamæleonis secreit practize with the d[uke of] Norffolk suspectit afoir begouth to brek out be

sum letters of Mai[ster] Johnne Lesleis callit bischop of Ross and als be ye duke himself, [put] in hoip of mariage of ye Scottis quene be yame, the quhilk practiȝe wes handillit sumpart putting feir to ye regent yat he could not re[turne] in Scotland with his lyff without ye dukis fauour, be ressoun of gre[it] preparationis yat wes maid aganis ye regent on bayth ye bordouris of Scotland and Ingland: partlie be tempting of ye said regentis mynd, [quha] answerit to ye duke of Norffolk, *That he wald be glad that ye q[uene] recognoscing hir falt and repenting, sould mary ony gude Christian [man] of nobill house.* The rumour of yis dealing wes sa opinlie spo[ken] in ye court of Ingland, yat ye quenis maiestie wes constrainit to wryte to hir lieutenentis to mak ye regent be put sauf in Scot[land] and so he wes without any recontre, bot of ye erll of Westmureland not far frome Durame quho seing ye regentis cumpany and ryd[ing] throw yame thocht not best to matche with yame. The next asse[mble] wes at Glasgow quhair ye Hāmiltonis bragging, bot could not be [party], be meanis of him and otheris yair fauouraris with ye regent wer ressauit to sic an appointment as wes greitlie to yair avantage and ye said regentis disadvantage. And quhen yai sould haif gevin plegis to performe ye said appointment as wes compromittit, thay did bot seke delay; and so ye principallis of yame [wer] committit to ward in ye castell of Edinburgh. The haill mater wes secreitlie handillit be the Chamæleon. The quhilk handilling apperit more planelie at an conventioun at Sanctandrois; quhair yair wes twa headis principallię disputit: first, *Gif the erll of Huntly sould haif gener[al] remissioun for all reif and oppressioun done be him and his freindis in all tymes bipast*; or, *gif ye kingis actioun pardonit, prevat men sould haue actioun to crave thair awin geir:* nixt, *Gif ye erll of Huntleis haill assistaris sould be comprehendit in ane remissioun with him.* The quhilk twa headis ye Chamæleon and his complices preassit ernistly be all meanis to be ressauit, as said is, and yat not without boisting of Franche men and Spanzaris and mony vther inconvenientis; and all yis done to disscourage ye kingis trew liegis, and lychtning ye hartis of rebellis in hoip of impunitie of all wrongis yat yai sould do in tyme to cum, and to

hald ye haill cuntre in rebellioun and inquietnes to consume at ye lang ye regent quhilk yai knew to be p[uir] of substance and liberall of courage. And ȝit wer not yir thingis mair subtilly devysed, nor yai wer constantly resistit be ye regent and his trew counsall. And seing yat yai could not cum to yair propose this way, thay causit new articles to be devysit in Ingland, twiching ye quenis cūming hame: to ye quhilk albeit yair wes sufficient answer maid in London, ȝit for ye samyn cause wes devysit ane assemble of lordis in Sanct Johnestoun, with ane additioun of ane commissioun of diuorcement of ye Erll Boithuile and the quene, and to ye effect of ye haill, mony writtingis [wer] purchessit of boith wyse men and greit men of Ingland. Schawing planelie yat it wes ane foly to Scotland to presse to resist ye marriage betuix ye quene and duke of Norffolk; ffor it wes devysit be sic wisdome and to be executit with sic force as Scotland wes not abill to resist; and not without consent of ye quenis maiestie of Ingland. Heir, albeit Chamæleon and all his quhelpis ragit neuir sa fast the contrait wes concludit and schawen to the quenis grace of Ingland be Alexander Hume gentilman of my lord regentis hous. And becaus the quenis maiestie wes not fully satisfeit at yat tyme, ane vther convocatioun wes haldin at Struieling, to ye quhilk the Chamæleon assurit of my lord regentis clemencie and proude in his awin consait bot fearing for his demeritis eftir sum dubitatioun come to Struieling and wes in doubt not without cause. For about yis tyme my lord regent, aduertissit yat ye Hāmiltonis had decretit to murthour him he schew bayth ye taill and the authour to ye Chamæleon, of ye quhilk Chamæleon reprovit vehemently ye Hāmiltonis that could not keip yair counsall mair secreit and yis aduertising being schawin be sum of ye Hāmiltonis to my lord regent, ȝit he sufferit pacientlie. At Stērling ye articles being declared at greittar lenth, the Chamæleon wes attecheit be iustice and chargeit of ye kingis murthour the quhilk greivit him havelie, and preissit at my lord regentis hand ye cryme to be changeit, and he to be accusit of ye troubles lyke to ryise in Ingland and Scotland throuch ye forspoken mariage; for he thocht yat matter

to be consauit and devysit sa substanciallie, yat nowther force nor wit could mak impediment to ye performance of it, and belevit suirlie yat sic ane cryme sould redound to his greit prayse and opinioun of wisdome. This not obtenit he obtenit aganis all ye said regentis freindis will, to be send to ward in ye castell of Edinburgh quhair he wrocht aganis ye nature of ye Chamæleon, ffor he changeit the greitar part of yame of ye castell to his colour sa weill, yat ye conspiracy of ye regentis deid lang afoir consavit wes yan brocht to effect. Eftir ye quhilk he wrocht be sic meanys yat he perswadit ye haill lordis yan p[rese]nt in Edinburgh to be enlargit of his ward, vnder promeise to compeir and answer to ye cryme of ye kingis murthoure layd to his charge, at sic day as he sould be callit, and vnder hoip to be ane gude instrument of concord amangis ye lordis and ane day prolongit to sik of ye Hāmiltonis as wald purge yame selffis of ye murthour of ye regent vnto ye first day of Maii: bot sone being adioinit with vther of his factioun he changeit yat colour, and perswadit vtheris complices of ye murthour for feare and sum sempill personis be ane fals colour of proffeit, to convene to ane schorter day, viz.: ye tent day of Apryle, assuring yame yat ye castell as it wes being thairz [*sic*], and ye toun als (for ye capitane of ye castell wes podrest [*sic*]),[60] that yis rumour sould caus mony to convene to yame and yair aduersaris disgracit sould haif na place to convene togidder; and yat ye quene of Ingland troublit alreddy with ciuile warre at hame mycht ye mair easelie condiscend to yat syde wrait to hir letteres partlie flattering partlie threatning and to schaw hir yair greit power send ane roll of ye lordis of yair syde quhairin wes comprehendit sum lordis neutrallis and mony of y^{r} aduersaries, beleving yat leyis maid in Scotland could not be tryit in Lundoun. And seing yat ye toun of Edinburgh could not be perswadit to rebell with yame, and yat ye cuntre convenit not as yai hopit and ye breking [of] ye bordouris succedit not to yair proffeit, the moist part flittit camp and went to Lynlythquow, and yair set furth yair proclamatioun dytit be Chamæleon (as wes afoir ye erll of Westmurelandis secund proclamatioun) and yairby set vp ye quenis authoritie quhairof he (tareing in ye castell of Edinburgh)

kepit him self clene, as Pilat wesching his handis of ye dead of Chryst. And sens that tyme as afoir yis gude subiect and seruand to ye kingis g[race] confortit with counsale and conveying* out of ye cuntre ye rebellis of Ingland the samyn being ennemeis to ye king of Scotland and prattit proudlie vantyng yat his pen sould be worth ten thowsand men and threatnit schamefullie (gif he had reservit any schame) the quenis maiestie of Ingland with wordis of quhilk ye memory sould be rather abolissit be pvnitioun of him yan rehersit for yair impudency; and fearit not to mak sa oppin a leye to nobillmen of Ingland as yat ye kingis trew subiectis acknawlegeing his authoritie wer not abill to assembill togidder fyve hundreth hors, quhair yai saw within four dayis moir yan fyve thowsand assemblit out of [ane] cornar of Scotland. And ay sensyne he hes bene at all convocatiouns of the kingis professit ennemeis in Scotland in Dunkeld, in Ath[ol], in Strathbogy, in Braidalbin, and other quhair, and kepis contrebank to Mr Johnne Leslie of Kingusie, in all directionis to put ye king out of his estait, his realme and at lenth out of yis erdlie lyff.

Now, I pray ȝow espy out quhat proffeit ye quene, our kingis moder, sall gadder of him yat hes bene (as scho knawis) sa oftentymes traitour to hir moder, to hir selfe, to hir sone, to hir brother, and to hir cuntre. Scho will be exemplis considder yat how mony colouris yat euir yis Chamæleon change, that it can neuir aganis ye nature of it, turne perfytelie quhyte.

RESPICE FINEM,
RESPICE FUNEM.

1570.

* In MS. altered to *conveyed.*

TWO LETTERS OF GEORGE BUCHANAN

TO

SIR THOMAS RANDOLPH.

[As the better half of Buchanan's life was spent abroad, the persons with whom he corresponded on his return to Scotland were mainly foreigners; and his correspondence was, therefore, necessarily in Latin, the European language of the time. Of his letters in Latin we possess only fourteen, though we know from himself that his correspondence was voluminous; and of those in the vernacular, only two, both addressed to Sir Thomas Randolph, Elizabeth's agent at the Court of Mary. Randolph is a well-known figure in the Scottish annals of the period. With Buchanan, for whose character and genius he had the highest admiration, he was on terms of intimate friendship. From the fact that Randolph, in writing to Buchanan, addresses him as "my good Maister," and on another occasion styles him "my Maister," Ruddiman drew the inference that Randolph had at one time been the pupil of Buchanan.* In the usage of the period, however, the expression does not imply Ruddiman's conclusion;† and other facts prove that the relation

* Ruddiman, 'Buchanani Opera,' vol. i. ('Georgii Buchanani vita ab ipso scripta biennio ante mortem,' p. 1.)

† Thus Andrew Melville speaks of Buchanan as his "master," though Buchanan was never actually his teacher. M'Crie, 'Life of Andrew Melville,' p. 7 (edit. 1856). The expression simply implied that the person so addressed was more advanced in years, and was superior in learning.

could hardly have existed. From Anthony Wood we learn that Randolph studied at Oxford, that he became principal of Broadgate Hall (afterwards Pembroke College) in 1549, an office which he held for three years, and that he was subsequently engaged in various embassies to Scotland, France, and Russia. As Buchanan was on the Continent from 1539 to 1561, it does not appear from this account of Randolph when he could have had Buchanan for his teacher. But a sentence of one of Randolph's letters from the Scottish Court (30th January 1561-62) seems clearly to imply that he had but lately made the acquaintance of Buchanan. The sentence, as has already been said, is further interesting as containing the first notice of Buchanan after his final return to Scotland. "Ther is with the quene," he writes, "one called Mr George Buchanan, a Scottische man, verie well lerned, that was the schollemaster vnto Monsr. de Brisack's sone, very godlye and honest." On the 7th April of the same year Randolph also writes: "The queen readeth daily after her dinner, instructed by a learned man Mr George Buchannan, somewhat of Lyvie." From the shade of expression in these references to Buchanan, we may conclude that the friendship between him and Randolph dated from the return of Buchanan to Scotland. Randolph's single letter to Buchanan may also be given here as illustrating Buchanan's two letters to himself.

SIR THOMAS RANDOLPHE TO BUCHANAN.

I am not (my good Maister) a little beholdinge vnto yow, for your late remembraunce both of me and my sonne, by your prettie and fyne Devyse to make him reade before he knowe or handle his Booke. Howe he will prove learnid heirafter, I knowe not, but far vnlyke to resemble him from whome he taketh the Patterne, that, longe before my Boyes yeares, farre passid many in learninge and Judgement, wherof such encrease ensueth, as in this Age is wonderfull, and amongst Princes most rare. I looke not for the lyke in myne, but shall thinke myselff happie yf he resemble yours in on Poynt of a Nomber that in him more brightly shyne then

Julium sidus lunas [*sic*] *inter minores.* That your worthie and noble kinge in so short Tyme is become so skillful, not a little is to be attributed to the great Diligence and lore of his Maisters, who besydes the giftes of Nature, have addid as muche as by Art could be devised. In this, my good Maister, consistith your Prayse, and in this shall your Fame remayne immortall, though many other thinges in this World haue made yow famous for ever. I leave to speake of many thinges donne in your Lyfe, great Prayse worthie, but howe well I lyke of the last little Treatise, 'De Jure Regni,' that lately come into the World, I cannot say as I thinke. This puttith me in Mynd of many thinges more great Prayse worthie donne by yow, especially the 'Historie of our Whole Isle,' wherin I may justly complayne of you, my good Maister, that I shall not have so much as a sight therof, before myne Eyes be cleane shutt vp, that nowe ar become for Age very dymme. What makith yow to doubt to let it come fourthe, a spectacle vnto the World, no lesse famous than *Apelles'* Table was, and as voyde of Comptrollement as his Worke was, howe curiouse soeuer the Souter would seme to be? I pray yow deferre no more Tyme; at the least let vs knowe what yow mynd to doe with it, and employ my Labor, and charge me so farre as you please, that shortly we may enjoy our longe desyrid Hope in a Matter of so great Weight. Wherin yow will I am euer at your Command. And so, my good Maister, I hartely take my Leave. At *London*, the 15th of March 1579.

Your verie lovinge and assured Frende at Commande

THO. RANDOLPHE.

I send vnto you two lyttle Books for two that I suppose came to me from you. Your 'De Regno' is greatly desyered amonge us.

The original of the first of the following letters is in the British Museum (Lansdowne MSS., 15-24). It was first printed by M'Crie in his Appendix to the 'Life of Andrew Melville.' A facsimile of this letter was published in 'Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland' (vol. iii., No. LXVI.), where it is errone-

ously stated to be addressed to Sir William Cecil.* The second letter appears in Ruddiman's general preface to his edition of Buchanan. A copy of the original was supplied to him by a person whom he styles "Randolphus Thoresbius Anglus, R.S.S."]

To his singular freynd M. RANDOLPH maister of postis to the queinis g. of Ingland. In London.

I resauit twa pair of lettres of you sens my latter wryting to you. wyth the fyrst I resavit Marinus [*sic*] Scotus,[61] of quhylk I thank you greatly, and specialy that your inglessmen ar fund liars in thair cronicles allegyng on hym sic thyngs as he never said. I haif beyne vexit wyth seiknes al the tyme sens, and geif I had decessit ye suld haif lesit bath thankis and recompens, now I most neid thank you, bot geif wear brekks vp of thys foly laitly done on the border, than I wyl hald the recompense as Inglis geir, bot gif peace followis and nother ye die seik of mariage or of the twa symptomes following on mariage quhylks ar jalozie and cuccaldry, and the gut cary not me away, I most other find sum way to pay or ceise kyndnes or ellis geifing vp kyndnes pay zow w^{t} evil wordis, and geif thys fasson of dealing pleasit me I haif reddy occasion to be angry with you that haif wissit me to be ane kentys man, quylk in a maner is ane centaure half man, half beast.[62] and yit for ane certaine consideration I wyl pas over that iniury, imputyng it erar to your new foly, than to ald wysdome. for geif ye had beine in your ry^{t} wyt ye being anis escapit the tempestuous stermes and naufrage of mariage had never enterit agane in the samyng dangeris. for I can not tak you for ane *Stoik philosopher*, havinge ane head inexpugnable w^{t} the frenetyk tormētis of Jalozie or ane cairless [*margin*, skeptik] hart that taks cuccaldris as thyng indifferent. In thys caise I most neidis præfer the rude Scottis wyt of capitane Cocburne to your inglis solomonical sapience, quhylk wery of ane wyfe deliuerit hir to the queyne againe, bot you deliuerit of ane wyfe castis your self in the samyn nette, *et ferre potes dominam saluis tot restibus ullam.* and so capitane

* The editor of the Nat. MSS. draws attention to this mistake.

Cocburne is in better case than you for his seiknes is in the feitte and zowris in the heid. I pray you geif I be out of purpose thynk not that I suld be maryit. bot rather consider your awyn dangerouse estait of the quhylk the speking as [*sic*] thus troublit my braine and put me safar out of the way. As to my occupation at thys present tyme, I am besy w^{t} our story of Scotland to purge it of sum Inglis lyis and Scottis vanite. as to maister knoks his historie is in hys freindis handis, and thai ar in cōsultation to mitigat sum part the acerbite of certaine wordis and sum taintis quhair in he has followit to muche sū of your inglis writaris as M. hal *et suppilatorem eius* Graftone, &c.[63] As to M. beza I fear y^{t} eild quhylk has put me from verses making sal deliure him sone a Scabie poetica, quhylk war ane great pitye for he is ane of the most singular poetes that has beine thys lang tyme. as to your great prasyng gevin to me in your lr̄e [letter] geif ye scorne not I thank you of luif and kyndnes towart me bot I am sorie of your corrupt iugement. heir I wald say mony iniuries to you war not yat my gut cōmandis me to cesse and I wyl als spair mater to my nixt writings. Fairweal and god keip you. at Sterling the sext of august.

Be youris at al a powe[r ?] G. BUCHANAN.

To Maister RANDOLF Squiar, Maister of Postes to the Quenis Grace of Ingland.

Maister, I haif resavit diverse letters frome you, and yit I have ansourit to naine of thayme; of the quhylke albeit I haif mony excusis, as age, forgetfulnes, besines, and disease, yit I wyl use nane as now, except my sweirness, and your gentilnes; and geif ye thynk nane of theise sufficient, content you with ane confession of the falt, w^{t}out fear of punitioun to follow on my onkindnes. As for the present, I am occupiit in writyng of our historie, being assurit to content few, and to displease mony thar throw. As to the end of it, yf ye gett it not or thys winter be passit, lippin not for it, nor nane other writyngs from me. The rest of my occupation is wyth the gout, quhilk haldis me besy both day and ny^{t}.

And quhair ye say ye haif not lang to lyif, I traist to god to go before yow, albeit I be on fut, and ye ryd the post; praying you als not to dispost my hoste at New werk, Jone of Kelsterne. Thys I pray you, partly for his awyne sake, quhame I tho^{t} ane gud fellow, and partly at request of syk as I dar no^{t} refuse. And thus I tak my leif shortly at you now, and my lang leif quhen God pleasis, committing you to the protection of the almy^{t}ty. At Sterling xxv. day of August, 1577.

Yours to command w^{t} service, G. BUCHANAN.

NOTE.

The Scots translation of the 'Detectio Mariæ Reginæ,' published by Lekprevik in 1572, has sometimes been loosely assigned to Buchanan himself. For this there is no authority whatever; and both Ruddiman and Irving considered it the work of another hand.* The translation itself, indeed, bears evidence that Buchanan could not have been its author. In several passages the translator has missed the meaning of the original, and in a manner that could not have happened to Buchanan himself. One instance may be considered to decide the question. Both in his 'History of Scotland' and in the 'Detectio' Buchanan several times uses the word *libellus*, and always uses it in the sense of *placard*.† But in the only passage where it was possible for the translator to miss the meaning, he has rendered it *buik*.‡ On the other hand, where the context kept him from error, he has rightly rendered Buchanan's meaning. As being a translation from the Latin, the syntactical structure of the sentences resembles that of Buchanan's vernacular writings; but its circumlocution of phrase is far removed from his terse directness of expression.

* Ruddiman, 'Buchanani Opera,' vol. i. p. xix; Irving, 'Memoirs of Buchanan,' p. 152 (note).

† 'Rer. Scotic. Hist.,' p. 354; 'Detectio Mariæ Reginæ,' pp. 6, 8 (Ruddiman).

‡ 'Detectio Mariæ Reginæ,' p. 6.

NOTES

NOTES TO BUCHANAN'S OPINION ANENT THE REFORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITIE OF ST ANDROS.

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[1] *The College of Humanite.* As will be seen, Buchanan's College of Humanite was simply what we should now describe as a combined elementary and secondary school. Such schools, aiming at the liberal education of the whole community, were the distinctive growth of the Revival of Learning. We have ample evidence, indeed, that the mediæval Church was very far from neglecting the general interests of education; but the idea of public instruction, equally within the reach of every section of society, was incompatible with the civil and religious principles on which mediævalism was based. By the very conditions of feudalism and papal supremacy under which the mediæval nations developed, the liberal education of the laity was neither necessary, nor, at the same time, desirable, in the interests either of the Church or of secular princes. With the Renaissance, however, came other ideals of the ends of human society. There was no theme on which the humanists better loved to descant than the dignity of human nature and the glory ot free institutions. It was the necessary result of their new conception of life, which came of their study of antiquity, that the dissemination no less than the acquisition of knowledge was the passion of the scholars of the sixteenth century. The humanists who remained within the ancient Church were as deeply moved by this passion as those who left it. Gouvéa, Budé, Erasmus, were as eager in the cause of popular education as Melanchthon, or Buchanan, or Jean Sturm. Such schools as those of Bordeaux and Nîmes, founded by Catholic communities under the influence of the new studies, were in every regard as nobly conceived as those of Strassburg and Geneva.*

* For the history of the great schools of Bordeaux, Nîmes, and Strassburg, see Gaullieur, 'Histoire du Collége de Guyenne' (Paris, 1874); Gaufrès, 'Claude

The history of secondary schools during the sixteenth century has a special interest and special instruction for ourselves at the present moment. The opening of that century saw a revolution to which we have the exact counterpart in the history of the last twenty or thirty years. The attitude of the humanist to the scholastic theology is precisely the attitude of the modern man of science to the literary tradition that has come to us from the Renaissance. The confusion that now exists as to the aims and methods of secondary education is due to causes precisely similar to those which were at work during the first half of the sixteenth century. In both periods a revolution, intellectual, social, and religious, has necessitated a new departure in public instruction to meet the new conditions of national life. As we are now groping towards a system which shall best meet these conditions, so the educationists of the sixteenth century gradually felt their way to that conception of liberal study which became the European tradition for the succeeding three centuries.

Buchanan's scheme for the College of Humanite embodies the highest conception of secondary education to which men had risen by the middle of the sixteenth century. The plan of study he has sketched is virtually that of all the great Continental schools that had been founded during the previous thirty or forty years. From the very outset of the intellectual revolution there had been but one mind among the men of the new order as to what should be the basis of all instruction. A familiar knowledge of Latin was the only key to the stores of human wisdom, as its acquisition afforded the only training fitted to ensure a capacity for sound thinking and adequate expression. Till past the middle of the century, moreover, it was the fixed conviction of the generality of scholars that sooner or later Latin must displace all the vernacular languages, and that the sooner the time came the better, in the highest interests of humanity. All the great schools, therefore, founded during this period, were virtually founded for the teaching of the Latin language and the Latin literature.

But while there was this unanimity regarding the matter taught, there was the greatest difference of opinion as to the best methods of teaching it. The numerous Latin grammars of the period were a source of endless distraction to those engaged in the practical work of teaching, and sufficiently prove the unsettled views that prevailed. In Scotland, indeed, the number of Latin grammars became such a stone of stumbling, that, by the express commandment of Government, a committee of four scholars, with Buchanan as president, was appointed to consider the difficulty. As the result of their deliberations, three of their number compiled a new grammar.* But not even their

Baduel et la Réforme des Études au xvi^e^ siècle' (Paris, 1880); and Charles Schmidt, 'La Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm' (Strassburg, 1855).

* Buchanan was intrusted with the section on prosody.

repute as scholars and the authority of Government could ensure its general acceptance, and the difficulty continued as before. The order in which the Latin authors should be studied was also a subject of contention, and rival scholars discussed the question with the zeal and bitterness of contemporary theologians. Further sources of disagreement were the age at which the pupils should begin their studies, their graduation into classes, and the number of years these studies should continue. By the date that Buchanan drafted his scheme, however, a general concurrence of opinion appears to have been reached, and his scheme may be regarded as registering the opinion of the best educational authorities on the aims and methods of secondary instruction. All the great schools above mentioned—Bordeaux, Nîmes, Strassburg, and Geneva—were organised on lines virtually identical with those laid down by Buchanan. In all of them we have the fundamental conception of a combined primary and secondary school affiliated to a school for higher studies, and in all of them the curriculum was practically the same. As throwing an interesting light on the proposals of Buchanan, some account may here be given of the educational arrangements in Geneva, which some four years previously (1559) had been completed mainly under the auspices of Calvin and Beza. Though the closest relations existed at this time between Scotland and Geneva, however, the similarity between the scheme of Buchanan and that of the Genevan reformers is no proof that Buchanan took Geneva as his model.* As has been said, the experience of the last fifty years had led those interested in public instruction to certain well-defined conceptions, which were generally accepted as at once most practicable and most expedient.

Shortly after its adoption of the Reformed religion, the citizens of Geneva had founded (1536) a college, which should preclude the necessity of sending their sons elsewhere for their higher education. From the programme of the college, published a year after its foundation,† we gather that it was meant to fulfil the function at once of a primary and secondary school, and a university. For various reasons, the new college failed in its object, and the youth of Geneva still continued to go elsewhere for their higher studies. Not, indeed, till 1559 was the education of the town placed on that footing which eventually made her one of the great schools of Europe. In that year, by the common action of the pastors and magistrates, the Academy of Geneva was founded to supply a complete course of elementary, secondary, and university education.‡ The new academy was to consist of a

* It is sometimes said that the Academy of Geneva was based on the model of Sturm's Academy at Strassburg. But the former was founded nine years before the latter.

† This programme will be found in Herminjard, 'Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française,' vol. iv. pp. 455-460.

‡ Promulgatio legum Academiæ Genevensis.

gymnasium, or, as it is otherwise termed in the statutes, *schola privata*, and the academy proper, also designated *schola publica*. The gymnasium corresponded precisely to Buchanan's College of Humanite. Instead of Buchanan's six classes there were seven; but the authors read and the order in which they were taken were in each case virtually the same. Similarly, the *schola publica* was the exact counterpart of Buchanan's two colleges of Philosophy and Divinity. Its five professors were intrusted with the teaching of Greek, Hebrew, Arts (*i.e.*, philosophy), medicine, and law—the only difference thus being that Greek is specially mentioned as a subject of study in the upper school.* While Buchanan's scheme, however, remained a dead letter, the Academy of Geneva became the great school of Protestant Europe. But the very success of the Genevan academy proves that had Buchanan's scheme taken practical shape, the scheme itself was well fitted to meet the educational requirements of the time.

[2] *Wagis of the Personis.* The authors of the 'First Book of Discipline' fixed 200 pounds Scots as the annual salaries of the heads of colleges. Generally, the salaries they propose are higher than those here set down by Buchanan. In Geneva the professors were paid at the same rate as the pastors—280 Genevese florins per annum.

[3] *Portionistis.* These were students who boarded with the principal or some one of the regents, to whom they paid a stipulated fee for their board and education. The term was adopted from the colleges of the University of Paris, where they were also known as *convicteurs*. The portionists are, of course, to be distinguished from the *bursars* of the college.—Quicherat, 'Sainte-Barbe,' vol. i. p. 74.

[4] *The nombre of the classis at the leist sex.* Mark Pattison ('Life of Casaubon,' p. 12) speaks of "the universally received division of seven classes" as prevalent at this period. The truth is that the number of classes seems simply to have varied with the prosperity of the school. Sturm thought that nine was the ideal number; Élie Vinet, ten. At the school of Nîmes eight was the number of classes proposed ('Gaufrès,' p. 41); in the Collége de Guyenne the number was at one time ten, at another twelve.

[5] *The VI. Classe.* The work of the corresponding class in the Gymnasium at Geneva is thus prescribed: "In hac classe, prima et simplicissima rudimenta declinationum et conjugationum primis sex mensibus proponuntor. Reliquis autem sex mensibus partium orationis et eorum quæ eis attribuuntur rudis explicatio familiariter proponitor ita ut cum Latinis Gallica comparent, adjunctis Latinæ linguæ

* The reading of Greek is implied, if not specially mentioned, in Buchanan's plan of the College of Divinite. It should be said that professors of law and medicine in the Academy of Geneva were not actually appointed till 1565, a year after Calvin's death. The year of the foundation of the Academy, a doctor of medicine was allowed to read lectures "sans toutefois qu'on lui baille gage."—A. Roget, 'Histoire du Peuple de Genève,' tome cinquième, 2me livraison, p. 243.

exercitationibus puerilibus. Ibidem pueri in pingendis literis confirmantor et Latino sermoni assuescunto.

[6] *Thys classe sal reid Terence.* In Geneva the Eclogues of Virgil were the first classical Latin read. Buchanan follows his old college of Guyenne. "Octavo ordini, sui sunt libri destinati, unus ex selectis epistolis Ciceronis; alter ex aliquot scenis Terentii."—Louis Massebieau, 'Schola Aquitanica, Programme d'Études du Collége de Guyenne au xvi^e^ siècle,' p. 16.

[7] *Linaceris grammar.* Buchanan's own Latin translation of Linacre is probably meant. See Introduction, pp. xiii, xiv.

[8] *The auditouris salbe diligently exercisit in verse,* &c. Part of the programme of the first class in Geneva was as follows: "Stylum diligenter exercento. Declamationes binas singulis mensibus, ita ut diximus, diebus Mercurii habento."

[9] *At the end of the ȝeir,* &c. "Singulis annis, tribus ante Cal. Maii hebdomadibus, publicum thema Gallicum in aula communi ab aliquo ex publicis professoribus vicissim hora duodecima proponitor, quod singuli per classes distributi, pro suo quisque captu excipiant."—'Promulgatio legum Academiæ Genevensis.'

[10] *Thair salbe twa bonnittis proponet,* &c. The same custom prevailed in the Collége de Guyenne. "Omnes autem postquam recitaverunt, consurgunt agonothetæ; et stantes, conferunt inter se, ac disceptant, qui utroque in genere orationis antecellunt. Duo denique ex omnibus victores declarantur: præmioque decoratur uterque pileo scholastico."—Massebieau, p. 34.

[11] *Thair may be gevin sum vacans,* &c. Tempore vindemiæ vacatio ab omnibus prælectionibus toti scholæ per tres hebdomadas conceditor.—'Prom. Leg. Acad. Gen.'

[12] *The principal salbe diligent,* &c. "[Ludimagistri] munus esto, præter ordinariam suæ classis procurationem, in collegarum mores ac diligentiam inspicere," &c.—'Prom. Leg. Acad. Gen.'

[13] *And geif the principal inlak.* The method of choosing a principal was somewhat different at Geneva. The election of Beza, the first principal of the Academy, is thus described in the preamble to the statutes: "Postea confessionis formulam in quam publici omnes auditores jurarent, et jusjurandum solenne, quod concipere Rectorem et omnes utriusque scholæ (privatæ videlicet ac publicæ) doctores oporteret, recensuit. Denique a Ministrorum collegio electum, ab amplissimo vero Senatu designatum Theodorum Bezam, unum ex verbi Ministris, scholæ Rectorem." The other teachers were appointed in the same way.

[14] *Item, in sommer,* &c. "Diebus Lunæ, Martis, Jovis, et Veneris, scholastici æstate, hora sexta matutina; hyeme, septima, in suum quisque auditorium conveniunto."—'Prom. Leg. Acad. Gen.'

[15] *Pedagogis.* These were very much what we now understand by private tutors. The Collége de Guyenne had a special statute

prescribing the duties of these pedagogues. It will be seen that Buchanan had probably this statute in his mind when he laid down his directions regarding their proper functions. "Pædagogi pueros suos in officio contineant, nec tamen cædant, ne a litteris absterreantur: sed si quid dignum pœnæ commiserint, de hoc ad nos, aut aliquem ex præceptoribus referant. Nihil prælegant, nihil discendum præscribant, nisi quod ipsis in gymnasio prælectum fuerit. Sic enim puerorum ingenio plerique misere confundunt, onerant, obruunt, et quod gravius est ferendum, quod a doctis præceptoribus ædificatum fuerat, illi destruunt."—Massebieau, p. 40.

[16] *In thys college nayne sal persever*, &c. In the colleges of the mediæval universities the regents in Arts or Humanity were themselves supposed to be preparing for the higher faculties of law, medicine, or theology. That a regent should delay eight years before entering one of these faculties, therefore, was proof of idleness or incompetence.

[17] *The thre law classis. I.e.*, the sixth, fifth, and fourth classes.

[18] *The College of Philosophie.* As has been said, Buchanan's College of Philosophie was represented in Geneva by one side of the *schola publica.* In the Guyenne school, also, its ten classes were supplemented by a two years' course in philosophy. In the case of all three, the subjects of study were practically the same.

[19] *Ane Reidar in Medicine.* As will be seen from the curriculum of the college prescribed below, *medicine* appears to have been included in "natural philosophie."

[20] *Swa in thre ȝeris*, &c. In Ste. Barbe, as in the other colleges of the University of Paris, the course in philosophy lasted three years; in the Collége de Guyenne, as was stated above, only two.—Quicherat, 'Sainte-Barbe,' vol i. p. 232.

[21] *At the end of the first ij ȝeiris*, &c. The probationary term for bachelorship in the mediæval universities was three years; but the sixteenth century saw frequent departures from the letter of traditional statutes. In Glasgow University, towards the end of the fifteenth century, a year and a half was fixed as the minimum term of study required for the diploma of bachelor.—'Munimenta Almæ Universitatis Glasguensis,' vol. ii. p. 27.

[22] *To the banquettis*, &c. The ordinances in this paragraph only prescribed what was customary in all the universities. Thus we find these statutes early in the history of the University of Glasgow: "Item statutum est et ordinatum quod determinantes in facultate arcium dent cuilibet magistrorum et invitatorum per eos unum par chirothecarum precii iiij denariorum ad minus." "Item statutum et ordinatum est quod in aula magistrali si Episcopus Glasguensis presens fuerit aut aliquis magnus prelatus habeat unum birretum bonum precii X solidorum / presidens et rector universitatis similiter decanus facultatis quilibet regentium et unusquisque temptatorum

habeat birretum precii V solidorum ad minus. Alii autem magistri invitati per eos habeant chirothecas iiij denariorum ut supra."—'Mun. Glasg. Univ.,' vol. ii. p. 18.

[23] *The principal sal se that gud ordre*, &c. This injunction was not unnecessary, as the scholastic disputations at the universities often led to the most unseemly exhibitions. Occasionally, indeed, the furious disputants would settle the point at discussion with their fists. Glareanus, in a letter to Erasmus, thus describes a disputation he saw at the Sorbonne in 1517: "Fui adeo nuper in disputatione Sorbonica, ubi egregios plausus, tanquam theatrum esset Pompeii, audivi. Non cohibui, immo cohibui risum, sed magna difficultate; at illic ridebat nemo: erat enim tum pugna magna de lana caprina. Porro irascebantur non parum Adæ, primo parenti nostro, quod mala, non pyra, comedisset, convitiisque vix abstinebant superciliosi homines. Vicit tandem theologica gravitas stomachum, evasitque bonis avibus Adam absque vulnere."—Erasmi Epp., edit. Le Clerc, p. 1621. In the Geneva statutes there are injunctions to the same effect as Buchanan's.

[24] *And salbe chosin be the hayl universitie.* As is mentioned above, the rector of the Genevan Academy was chosen by the pastors and appointed by the magistrates. The mode of election proposed by Buchanan was that of the mediæval universities. This difference in the mode of electing the rector reminds us that in the Genevan institution we have simply an upper and a lower school, while the aim of Buchanan was the establishment of a university. Another distinction was that at Geneva no degrees were conferred.

[25] *The conservatour of priuilege*, &c. The University of Paris had its Conservator of Royal Privileges and its Conservator of Apostolical Privileges. The former was first appointed in 1200, on the occasion of certain privileges granted to the university by Philip Augustus. It was the function of the second official to guard the privileges granted to the university by the various popes.—Crevier, 'Histoire de l'Université de Paris,' vol. i. pp. 281, 361.

NOTES TO THE ADMONITIOUN.

[26] *Thraldome of strangearis.* The strangers were the French introduced into Scotland by Mary of Guise, and who quitted the country according to the terms of the Treaty of Edinburgh (1560).

[27] *Mease* (otherwise written *meis, mese*)=to mitigate, calm, allay. Cf. Douglas's 'Virgil,' 14, 52. The form *ameise* is also found (Barbour, xvi. 134). Jamieson finds a cognate in Ger. *massen.*

[28] *Sic ane husband.* The Duke of Norfolk, with whom many of Mary's friends, both in England and Scotland, were desirous that she should form an alliance.

[29] *Toung trampit in dessait*=steeped in deceit. *Trampit* is evidently the French *trempé.*

[30] *Machiavell.* This epithet was now in common use in Scotland. Richard Bannatyne applies it to Maitland of Lethington. See p. 39 (below).

[31] *Mainteining of hir rebellis.* The Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland are specially meant. They had sought refuge in Scotland (1569) after an abortive Catholic rebellion in England.

[32] *Mister*=want, necessity. According to Jamieson, *mister* in this sense is cognate to Dan. *mister.* Skeat thinks it the same as *mister* =craft, or art, from Fr. *mestier*, Lat. *ministerium.*

[33] *His wyff drownit*, &c. This story of the wife who even in death showed her perverse disposition by thwarting the laws of nature is found in the folk-lore of every country.

[34] *First eftir ye deid*, &c. The account of the policy of the Hamiltons that follows was afterwards reproduced by Buchanan in his 'Rerum Scoticarum Historia,' lib. xiv. Pinkerton, Tytler, and other writers brought a general charge of inaccuracy against this portion of Buchanan's History. Professor Brewer, however, on the authority of the State Papers of Henry VIII., is able to say that "Buchanan's information for this portion of his History was evidently derived from trustworthy sources" ('Reign of Henry VIII.,' vol. i. p. 557).

[35] *Dauid Paintar.* James V.'s well-known Secretary of State,

made Bishop of Ross in 1545. Buchanan appears to be our only authority for the incident here related; but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his report.

[36] *Had cruellie slane at linly*t *quow Johnne erll of levenax.* Hamilton slew Lennox on the spot, after he had surrendered himself a prisoner of war.

[37] *Ane miserabill end conforme to his vngodlie lyff.* Hamilton was executed in 1540 on a charge of conspiracy to assassinate the king.—'Acts of the Parliament of Scotland,' vol. ii. p. 423.

[38] *Quha be ane fals instrument.* Buchanan repeats this charge in his History (p. 281), and Knox also tells the same story ('Works,' vol. i. p. 93, Laing's edit.) What is supposed to be the forged instrument has lately been found among the Hamilton Papers. The editor regards the forgery as incontestable ('Hist. Man. Commission'—the Manuscripts of the Duke of Hamilton, pp. 205-220).

[39] *Abjurit his religioun*, &c. Compare Knox, 'History' (vol. i. p. 109, Laing's edit.)

[40] *Had not ye arryving of ye inglis army*, &c. The reference is to the Earl of Hertford's famous invasion of 1544. Angus was one of Henry VIII.'s "assured Scots."

[41] *He consentit to offer*, &c. James, Earl of Arran, was created Duke of Châtellerault the same day (8th February 1547-8) that the marriage of Mary and the Dauphin of France was ratified at Stirling by the Government of the Regency.

[42] *To slay ye erll of murray in falkland.* Buchanan repeats this charge in his History (pp. 334, 335). Compare Knox, 'History' (pp. 328-330).

[43] *To haif ye joy of ye approcheing of ye croun.* Compare Buchanan, 'History,' p. 352, where he brings the same charge against the Archbishop of St Andrews.

[44] *Enterit in ye gayme of ye glaiks.* Jamieson defines *glaikis* as *the act of jilting.* The meaning seems to be that Mary played the coquette with Hamilton. *Glaiks* is used in a somewhat different sense in Lyndsay's line, "I se thay haif playit me the glaiks."—'Ane Satyre of the thrie Estates,' line 1878.

[45] *To fon for faynnes*=to play the fool through the manifest eagerness of their desire. In Middle English, *fonnen*=to act foolishly.

[46] *Ane stude to cast ma folis.* Under the word *stud*, Skeat gives *stod-mere* from the 'Ancren Riwle.' Cf. German *stute*, a mare. The expression reminds us of Henry VIII.'s description of Anne of Cleves as "a great Flanders mare."

[47] *Wt sum trators of yat natioun.* The Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, as already mentioned.

[48] *As his bage beris witnes.* Buchanan here refers to the part of the Norfolk arms consisting of a demi-lion rampant, pierced through the mouth by an arrow, within a double tressure.

[49] *Heretabill tressoun in bayt ye houss*ᵉ. Beginning with the Earl of Surrey, who commanded at Flodden, five members of the House of Howard were attainted during the first half of the sixteenth century: the Duke of Norfolk, of whom Buchanan speaks, made the sixth.

[50] *To slay master Johnne Wod.* Wood was secretary to the Regent Moray. He was assassinated by Arthur Forbes of Reres on the 15th April 1570.

[51] *Thay keip ye murtherare sum tyme in yair cumpany.* In proof of this statement Tytler refers to a MS. in the State Paper Office, entitled "Information anent the Punishment of the Regent's Murder." Tytler, 'History of Scotland,' vol. iii. p. 320 (edit. 1873).

[52] *Ratches.* The word is not given by Jamieson, but it is evidently cognate with *reach*, *rax*, *ratchet*, &c.

[53] *My lord regentis pupillis.* The Regent Moray left two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. The former married James Stuart, eldest son of Sir James Stuart, Lord Doune, who in her right became second Earl of Moray. The younger daughter married Francis, ninth Earl of Errol.

VARIOUS READINGS OF THE ADMONITIOUN.

As I have said in the Introduction to the *Admonitioun*, the text here given differs greatly from both of Lekprevik's editions. To exhibit all the variations, indeed, would be virtually to reproduce all three texts. As it is of interest, however, to see the nature of the alterations made, either by Buchanan himself, or, at least as we may suppose, under his superintendence, a few examples are here given to show the variations between the MS. and Lekprevik's second edition.

Page 21 (above). MS. *hie*, Lek. *heich;* weill, *welthes;* devoir, *dewtie;* apperand, *appeiring;* approcheand, *approching;* surmonting, *surmounting;* chosit, *chesit;* in sic thingis, *of sic thingis;* as seme, *as euin seme.*

Page 22. Rewyne, *ruyne;* weill, *welth;* tane, *takin;* ꝑtene, *appertene;* cõmunitie, *commoditie;* ꝛselffis, *ȝour selfis;* remittis, *do remit;* having yat hoip at ye leist, *hoiping at leist;* gif, *althocht;* can, *sall;* that, *quhilk;* nixt to, *item;* out of thraldome, *from the thraldome;* tyranne, *tyrannie;* ane, *a;* anentis, *in the sight of;* wer, *being;* magistrattis, *magistratis;* how efter ȝour, *be ȝour;* and constranit, *wer constranit;* wrangusle, *wrangfully;* samyn, *same;* haif, *haue;* yatilk, *the same;* vther, *vtherwyse;* not, *nocht;* bipast, *tyme past;* weill, *welth;* respect of ȝour propir and prevat cõmoditie, *tending to ȝour priuate commodities;* considder, *remember;* meanys, *meanis;* tyme bipast, *tymes past;* knawlegeit, *acknawledgit.*

Page 23. Valiant, *vaiʒeand;* mercifull hartis, *mercyfulnes;* punissing, *punisching;* all testifeis, *witnessis;* grace, *maiestie;* your Immoderat, *thair inordinat;* vyrwayis, *vtherwyse;* banyssing, *banisching;* disordor, *misordour;* understand, *cõsidder;* dissimulis, *dissemblis;* scamles, *schambles;* guidschir, *grandschir;* haif, *haue;* banissit, *banischit;* him, *him self;* his awin saikles blude, *his awin blude;* of ye kingis deid, *of King Henryis deith.*

Page 24. Revolting, *reuoluing;* and weare, *be raissing of ciuile weir;* haif, *haue;* bipast, *past;* on na maner, *be na maner;* yai mak yame to, *they wald;* evade, *eschaip;* punitioun, *punischement;* as ar togidder, *as for ye maist part;* petie, *pietie;* thevis, *thift;* vther yat I omit, *vtheris thairunto ioynit;* knawis, *vnderstandis;* pteins, *appertenis;* hazard, *ieopardie.*

In Lekprevik's second edition a paragraph giving an account of a third conspiracy was inserted. It is as follows: "The third conspiracie (yat come to our knawledge) was, that the kingis grace ryding oft tymes betuix Striuiling and the Downe of Menteeth, to veseit ane gentill womã of his motheris, making residence in the Downe: and cõmounly accumpanyit with ane or twa hors be nicht, the said Schir James proponit to certane gentil men ye slauchter of him, and assayit it not, because ye executaris wald tak na thing on hand without him self had bene present."

In many cases entire passages are recast in the second edition, as the following example will show. The passage in the MS. (p. 32, above), beginning, "ʒit I can not overpasse wt silence the cheif conspiratour," in Lekprevik runs as follows: "ʒit ane I can not ouerpas, being ye cheif conspiratour chosin be thame to be King of Scotland and Ingland, I mene the Duke of Norfolk, in quhilk acte we may se how ye thrist of ʒour blude blindit thame agains thair awin vtilitie. First yai cheisit the principall enemie of the religioun of Christ in this ile, accumpanyit with vther fylthie idolateris, to change the stait of the kirk in baith realmes be cutting of the twa princes: seing that thair authoritie standing, ye conspiratouris could not cum to thair intent. Nixt thay respectit in that proude tyrane, the vertewis that wer commoun to him and thame, as arrogancie, crueltie, dissimulatioun and tressoun. For euin as ʒai had this lang tyme in Scotland socht the deith of thair richteous prince: sa he in Ingland following the trade of his antecessouris, diuers tymes attempting tressoun, wald haue put downe the quene of Ingland. Heir alswa apperis the Hammiltounis crueltie agains the nobilitie of thair awin natioun, in seiking thair professit and perpetuall enemie of Scotland (as his badge beiris witnes) quha sould haue spilt the rest of the noble blude of Scotland in peice, yat his ãtecessouris could not spill in weir: be quhilk electioun, being assurit that na Scottis hart can luif thame, sa can they luif nane of ʒow, aganis quhom, yai haue vsit sa mony tressonabill actis."

NOTES TO THE CHAMÆLEON.

[54] *Verelie ane nobill lady and of greit prudence.* As the following sentence shows, Buchanan thought more favourably of Mary of Lorraine than Knox, who had, indeed, personal reasons for disliking her: "Erat enim singulari ingenio prædita, et animo ad æquitatem admodum propenso: gentesque ferocissimas et extremos insularum cultores virtute et consilio pacaverat."—'Rer. Scotic. Hist.,' p. 324.

[55] *Ye haly Doctour Cranstoun.* William Cranston, Principal of St Salvator's College. At the Reformation, he, along with most of the regents in that college, adhered to the old religion, and gave up his appointment.—Lyon, 'History of St Andrews,' vol. i. p. 317.

[56] *The quene be avyis of hir oncles, devysit to destroy ye erl of Mu[rray].* Compare 'Rer. Scotic. Hist.,' pp. 340, 341.

[57] *The nobill and vertuus Lady Gy[ltoun].* Buchanan designates thus ironically the notorious Lady Grizzell Sempill, the avowed mistress of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, by whom she had several children. On the 26th November 1561, the Town Council of Edinburgh ordained "actis to be set furth, charging Grizzell Simpill Lady Stanehous adulterar, to remuif her self furth of the toun betuix and Mununday nixt, under the panys contenit in the proclamation set furth aganis adulteraris."

[58] *And my lord deliberat to go in persoun,* &c. The reference is to the mission of Moray, in October 1568, to lay before the Commissioners of Elizabeth the indictment against Mary. As Buchanan was one of those who accompanied Moray, he here speaks from direct personal knowledge. In his History he afterwards repeated his charges against Maitland. The corresponding passage in the History is as follows: "Igitur, cum decretum est Legatos mittere; nec satis conveniret, qui mitterentur, primoribus id onus recusantibus, tandem ipse Prorex, se iturum professus, comites elegit; unum quidem renitentem, ac prope invitum, Gulielmum Mætellanum. Hominem enim factiosum, et quem jam in Reginæ partes inclinatum videbat,

parum tutum arbitrabatur, in tam dubio regni statu, domi relinquere. Itaque, magnis et pollicitationibus et præmiis, ut una secum proficisceretur, pellexit; nec dubitabat, quin animum avarum donis aut vinceret aut inflecteret."—'Rer. Scotic. Hist.,' p. 372.

[59] *In yis menetyme*, &c. Compare 'History,' p. 373.

[60] *For ye capitane of ye castell wes podrest.* Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, who was provost of Edinburgh, 1569-70.

NOTES ON THE LETTERS.

[61] *Wyth the fyrst I resavit Marinus* (sic) *Scotus*, &c. With this passage compare what Buchanan says of Mariano in his History: "Testesque ejus sententiæ laudant multos scriptores Anglos ignobiles, quibus ut facilius crederemus, Marianum Scotum, fama illustri hominem, adjiciunt. Qua de re lectorem admonendum putavi, nusquam in eo Mariani codice, qui est in Germania editus, ullam prorsus esse mentionem. Ipsi vero an alium habeant, ab eo qui publice legitur, Marianum, aut interpolatum, aut a se confictum, eum velim proferant." —'Rer. Hist. Scotic.,' p. 97. There *was* another contemporary of the name of Marianus, but he wrote on religious, not historical subjects.

[62] *Ane kentys man, quylk in a maner is ane centaure half man, half beast.* The reference is to the curious belief prevalent in the middle ages that the men of Kent were born with tails. The origin of the myth, according to Lambard, is as follows: The men of Strood or Stroud, in Kent, warmly took sides with Henry II. in his quarrel with Thomas Becket, and, on Becket's visiting their village, they showed their feeling by cutting off the tail of his horse. Thenceforward, according to the legend, all the descendants of those who insulted the saint, and even of their kinsmen, were born with tails.—Lambard, 'The Peregrination of Kent,' p. 431 (Lond. 1576). Fynes Morryson, however, gives a very different explanation. "The Kentish men of old," he says, "were said to have tails because, trafficking in the Low Countries, they never paid full payments of what they did owe, but still left some part unpaid."—'Itinerary,' 3, 53, 149 (1617). The same story of the tailed men of Kent is told in connection with Augustine.

[63] *As M. hal et suppilatorem eius Graftone.* Buchanan uses the same phrase in his History. "Hoc loco, scriptores Angli, et in primis Eduardus Hallus, et ejus suppilator Graftonus."—'Rer. Scotic. Hist.,' p. 194.

PRINTED BY WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.

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1891.

The Scottish Text Society.

EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the SOCIETY was held in Dowell's Rooms, George Street, on 18th November—ÆNEAS J. G. MACKAY, Esq., LL.D., in the Chair. The Annual Report, as follows, was read by the Secretary:—

"The Society has during the past year lost by death its President, the Right Hon. John Inglis, Justice-General of Scotland; and one of its Editors, the Reverend Father E. G. Cody.

"From the very first the late Lord Justice-General took the greatest interest in the Society. When consulted on the formation of the Society, he gave not only approval but hearty encouragement, and during his Presidency his kindly presence and wise counsel did much to aid the Society and the Council.

"The late Father Cody was a man of varied learning. He entered with great heartiness into the editing of 'Lesley's History of Scotland,' translated by Father Dalrymple. He transcribed with his own hand the whole of what has been published. He has added many interesting notes, and given

an Introduction which contains all that is known of the translator and the translation. His death is a loss to the Society, as well as to the Church to which he belonged.

"Three parts have been issued as usual to subscribers. Mr Hewison has edited 'Certain Tractates,' together with the 'Book of Four Score Three Questions,' and a translation of 'Vincentius Lirinensis' by Ninian Winzet, consisting of 33 pages of Introduction, which contains a good deal of new matter concerning the author, and 204 pages of text, glossary, and indexes. Mr Metcalfe has edited Part III. of 'Legends of the Saints,' containing 192 pages of text. Dr Cranstoun has edited 'Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation,' Part II., consisting of 60 pages of Introduction and Biography, which bring to light not a little new matter, and 182 pages of text,—in all about 671 pages. Part III. is nearly ready for press.

"The first issue for the coming year, 'Legends of the Saints,' completing the text, is ready to be delivered to subscribers. Several sheets of 'Golagros and Gawane,' and other alliterative poems, edited by Mr Amours of Glasgow, are already printed off, as well as the remaining Notes of Dunbar's Poems, by Dr Gregor. Part of the Glossary for Dunbar is in type, and almost ready to be printed off.

"The Council is much pleased to notice the steady progress of the edition of Dunbar's Poems by Professor Schipper of Vienna, published by the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna. Two parts of that work have reached this country. The use made of the Society's edition by so distinguished a scholar is a gratifying tribute to the usefulness of the Society's publications, and his work is still more gratifying as a sign of the intrinsic merits of Dunbar, who is now, through Professor Schipper's services, acquiring a European reputation.

"The Scots works of Buchanan, which Mr Hume Brown has edited, are in type, and will be issued as soon as possible.

'The Seven Sages,' by Rolland, to be edited by Dr Varnhagen of Erfurt, is in the printers' hands.

"The other works — Mure of Rowallan's Poems, by Mr Tough, and the Works of the Minor Poets of the Time of James IV., by Mr Gregory Smith—announced in the Report of last year, are in progress, and it is expected will be ready for press in a short time.

"An unpublished Scottish version of 'The Buke of ye Chess' has been copied from the Asloan MS. It is a poem of much interest and value, as it is a Scots version of a well-known work which has been translated into several languages. The Council has in contemplation, if a competent editor can be found, to recommend the issue of the whole of the Asloan MS., which Lord Talbot de Malahide has very kindly allowed the Society to copy, by giving a part yearly according as the funds will admit.

"The late Father Cody before his death had transcribed a portion of the last chapter of 'Lesley's History of Scotland.' Every facility for transcribing the remainder is offered to the Society by the Benedictines of Fort Augustus, in whose library the MS. is. An editor to complete the work is wanted."

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, briefly referred to what had been done during the year in the way of preserving the monuments of the Scottish language and literature. There had been two outstanding features of importance beyond what was mentioned in the Report. One was the continuation with greater rapidity, but with all the old diligence and accuracy, of the monumental 'Dictionary of English Language,' by Dr Murray. That work, a new section of which had just been begun by Mr Bradley, afforded an example and also a stimulus to the Scottish Text Society and persons interested in Scottish literature, for in that dictionary the Scottish language was

treated as a subordinate dialect of English; and although the words of the old Scottish language were for the most part to be found, there was an absence of reference to old Scottish literature. Still, they could not but feel grateful for what had been done in the way of including the Scottish language in that English dictionary. It should stimulate the Society to make a Scottish dictionary worthy of Scotland, to be placed by the side of that great English dictionary. Another matter of importance was the publication by Professor Schipper, of Vienna, of the text of Dunbar's Poems. He could not help thinking that it was a very remarkable fact that that old Scottish poet should, within a period of a few years, have awakened a spirit of admiration in his own country and in Vienna. A less important but still noticeable fact was the publication in Glasgow of selections of the early Scottish poets. He found that M'Neill's version of 'Sir Tristrem' and Blind Harry's 'Wallace' had been used in the work, and he did not think there had been such a full acknowledgment made of the use of the texts of their Society as they were entitled to expect. As regarded the work of their own Society, that had certainly equalled in value any former year. He attached especial importance to the publication of 'Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation,' by Dr Cranstoun. The Notes on Dunbar's Poems made them all long for the time when they should see the Glossary from the same hand. The suggestion was made, with the cordial approval of the Council, that the rare Asloan MS., which for the first time had been made available for literature, should be printed *in extenso*. The Chairman also indicated some of the other works in preparation by the Society.

Mr Jas. T. Clark, Keeper of the Advocates' Library, seconded the adoption of the Report, which was agreed to.

Sir Arthur Mitchell moved the following resolution, which he said had been drawn by Mr J. R. Findlay, who was unable to be present: "That this meeting desires to record their deep

sense of the loss the Society has sustained in the death of the Lord Justice-General Inglis. As one of the founders of the Society, Lord Justice-General Inglis gave invaluable counsel and aid in framing its constitution and arranging its organisation. He was its President from its origin till his death, and in that capacity he for some time attended regularly the meetings of Council, and even later, when from advancing years he had ceased to take an active part in the business of the Society, the results of his wide acquirements and ripe experience were always at the disposal of his colleagues. His association with this Society was only one among many proofs of his patriotic interest in everything tending to elevate the national character, and to keep on record the past achievements in literature, art, and history of the Scottish people."

Mr Traquair Dickson, W.S., seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted, and the Secretary was instructed to forward a copy to Mr Alexander W. Inglis.

Sir Arthur Mitchell moved that the Marquis of Lothian be elected President of the Society, in room of the late Lord Justice-General. The Chairman seconded the nomination, which was cordially agreed to.

On the motion of Mr William Blackwood, Sir Arthur Mitchell, K.C.B., was elected Vice-President of the Society, and the following were appointed Members of Council in room of those retiring: Mr J. C. Ogilvie-Forbes of Boyndlie; Mr F. J. Amours, Glasgow; Dr Skelton, C.B.; and Mr T. G. Law.

The Scottish Text Society.

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS,

From 29th October 1890 *to 29th October* 1891.

CHARGE.

I. Balance brought from last Year, viz.—		
1. Arrears of Contributions		£67 4 0
2. Cash in National Bank	£191 6 10	
Less Subscriptions paid in advance . . .	4 4 0	
		187 2 10
		£254 6 10
Less Arrears written off		23 2 0
		£231 4 10
II. Members' Annual Contributions—		
326 Members for 1890-91, per List, at £1, 1s., and 3 at £2, 2s., ...	£348 12 0	
Copies of previous issues sold to New Members . .	18 18 0	
		367 10 0
III. Interest on Bank Account	£0 12 5	
On Deposit Receipts	5 7 10	
		6 0 3
SUM OF THE CHARGE . .		£604 15 1

Equalling the DISCHARGE, as on page 9.

DISCHARGE.

I. Cost of Society's Publications, viz.—	
Messrs Blackwood for Vol. XXII., Winzet's Tractates, Vol. II., 240 pp., and Cover, 390 Copies, Paper, Printing, and Doing up . .	£99 5 0
Do., for Vol. XXIII., Legends of the Saints, Part III., 196 pp., and Cover, 390 Copies, Paper, Printing, and Doing up . .	61 1 8
Do., for Vol. XXIV., Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation, Part II., 242 pp., 375 Copies, Paper, Printing, and Doing up .	78 6 6
Do., for Vol. XXV., Barbour's Legends of the Saints, Part IV., 290 pp., and Cover, 375 Copies, Paper, Printing, and Doing up . .	86 10 0
Rev. J. K. Hewison, Honorarium for Editing Winzet's Works . .	20 0 0
Do., Outlay for Photographs for Winzet's Works . . .	1 11 6
Dr Cranstoun, Stroud, Expenses and Outlay in connection with Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation	11 16 6
Carry forward . .	£358 11 2

			Brought forward .		£358 11 2
Mr Augustus Hughes, British Museum, for Collating MS. Copies of three Works of George Buchanan					3 15 0
Do., for Transcript of Kennedy's Passion from Arundel MS. . .					4 14 0
Do., for Transcription from Asloan MS.					6 8 0
Do., for Transcript of the Quair of Jealousy from Seldon MS. . .					1 13 0
					£375 1 2
II. Books bought for Editors					0 17 6
III. General Expenses, viz.—					
Rev. Walter Gregor, LL.D., Secretary, Salary for year .			£25 0 0		
Do., Postages and Stationery disbursed by him . .			1 13 3		
Messrs Blackwood, for Printing Subscription Receipt-Book, 1890-91			0 10 6		
Do., for Publication No. 1 for London University Library			0 7 6		
Do., for Advertising			0 7 9		
Do., for Printing Report and Abstract of Accounts, &c., 440 copies			8 8 10		
Do., for Printing Circular requesting Subscription to be paid			0 10 0		
Do., Addressing and Posting Prospectus and Letters to Council			1 8 0		
Do., Addressing and Posting Vols. 22, 23, 24, and 25, and Delivering some			22 10 1		
Do., Miscellaneous Charges for Postages, Carriages, and Telegram			1 9 1		
Mr Dowell, for use of Room for Annual Meeting . .			0 5 0		
Commission to Booksellers introducing Members . .			1 8 3		
Charges on Cheques			0 1 1		
Treasurer, Outlay for Postages, &c., during year . .			3 3 0		
Clerical Work for 3 years			3 0 0		
					70 2 4
IV. Balance to next Account, viz.—					
1. Arrears of Contributions, viz.—					
34 Members for 1889-90			£35 14 0		
69 " for 1890-91			72 9 0		
			£108 3 0		
2. Cash in National Bank—					
1. On Deposit Receipt . .		£50 0 0			
2. On Current Account	£9 17 7				
Less Balance due to Treasurer .	5 2 6				
		4 15 1			
		£54 15 1			
Deduct: 4 Subscriptions paid in advance		4 4 0			
			50 11 1		
					158 14 1
			SUM OF THE DISCHARGE .		£604 15 1

Equalling CHARGE, as on page 8.

EDINBURGH, *9th November* 1891.—I have examined the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Scottish Text Society for the period 29th October 1890 to 29th October 1891, and having compared them with the vouchers, I find them to be correct, closing with a balance in the National Bank of Fifty-nine pounds seventeen shillings and sevenpence, and a balance of Five pounds two shillings and sixpence due to the Treasurer. The subscriptions paid in advance amount to Four guineas.

PETER RONALDSON, C.A., *Auditor.*

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	1884.			1885.			1886.			1887.			1888.			1889.			1890.			1891.			1892.
	I. Quair—I.	II. Dunbar—I.	III. Venus.	IV. Dunbar—II.	V. Lesley—I.	VI. Wallace—I.	VII. Wallace—II.	VIII. Tristrem.	IX. Montgomerie—I.	X. Montgomerie—II.	XI. Montgomerie—III.	XII. Gau.	XIII. Barbour—I.	XIV. Lesley—II.	XV. Winzet—I.	XVI. Dunbar—III.	XVII. Wallace—III.	XVIII. Barbour—II.	XIX. Lesley—III.	XX. Satirical Poems—I.	XXI. Dunbar—IV.	XXII. Winzet—II.	XXIII. Barbour—III.	XXIV. Satirical Poems—II.	XXV. Barbour—IV,
1890. Oct.																									
On hand . . .	...	33	37	67	70	62	88	34	40	59	59	62	69	74	14	57	51	70	100	101	101	...	...	...	...
Returned . . .	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...
Printed 1890-91 . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	390	390	375	375
	...	34	37	68	70	62	88	34	40	59	59	62	69	74	14	57	51	70	100	101	101	393	393	375	375
Presented—																									
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Delivered to Subscribers	...	3	3	4	4	4	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	16	16	16	303	303	262	6
1891. Oct. 21																									
On hand . . .	...	30	34	63	66	58	86	33	39	57	57	60	65	69	9	52	46	65	83	81	84	80	90	110	369
	...	34	37	68	70	62	88	34	40	59	59	62	69	74	14	57	51	70	100	101	101	393	393	375	375

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